The New REPUBLIC

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Wednesday August 20, 1930

November 12

Breakers Ahead for Fascist Italy

by Francesco Nitti

Œdipus: The Future of Love, *by Malcolm Cowley*

An Expert on Hoover's "Experts" *Editorial*

Thanks to a Pig, *by Stark Young*

Aviation Blues, *by Bruce Gould*

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Dollar Reprints

Within the past month three titles from The New Republic's DOLLAR SERIES have been reprinted. They are "Our Enemy the Child," by Agnes de Lima, first published in 1925 (now in its 10th thousand); "The Meaning of Adult Education," by E. C. Lindeman, issued in 1927 (3rd printing) and "Living with the Law," by June Purcell Guild, published last year. This prompts us to remark that we *reprint* our own books at one dollar, not the successes of other publishers. All of The New Republic's books have paid their way, none has ever been remaindered, and all have proved worth keeping in print. The complete list, including John T. Flynn's "Investment Trusts Gone Wrong!" appears below:

28. INVESTMENT TRUSTS GONE WRONG, by John T. Flynn.
27. THE STUDENTS SPEAK OUT—A Symposium.
26. TOLSTOY AND NIETZSCHE, by Helen E. Davis.
25. IMPRESSIONS OF SOVIET RUSSIA AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WORLD, by John Dewey. 2nd edition.
24. LIVING WITH THE LAW, by June Purcell Guild, 2nd ed.
23. COLLEGE OR KINDERGARTEN? by Max McConn. 2nd edition.
22. AMERICA SEEN THROUGH GERMAN EYES, by Dr. Arthur Feiler.
21. POWER CONTROL, by H. S. Raushenbush and Harry W. Laidler. 3rd edition.
20. PARENTS ON PROBATION, by Miriam Van Waters.
19. THE RUSSIAN LAND, by Albert Rhys Williams. 3rd ed.
18. TOTEM AND TABOO, by Sigmund Freud.
17. DELUSION AND DREAM, by Sigmund Freud.
16. LAISSEZ-FAIRE AND COMMUNISM, by John Maynard Keynes.
15. THE MEANING OF ADULT EDUCATION, by E. C. Lindeman. 3rd edition.
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13. CONCERNING PARENTS—A Symposium on Parenthood. 5th edition.
12. OUR ENEMY THE CHILD, by Agnes de Lima. 4th edition.
11. THE AMERICAN COLLEGE AND ITS RULERS, by J. E. Kirkpatrick, Ph.D. 2nd edition.
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9. HOMES OF THE FREEI by Rossa B. Cooley.
8. ENCAUSTICS, by Stai Young.
7. THE CHILD, THE CLINIC AND THE COURT—A Symposium on Juvenile Delinquency. 2nd edition.
6. SOCIAL DISCOVERY, by E. C. Lindeman. 2nd edition.
5. MOTHERS IN INDUSTRY, by Gwendolyn S. Hughes.
4. THE SUPREME COURT AND MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION — A Symposium.
3. EDUCATION, THE MACHINE AND THE WORKER, by Horace M. Kallen, Ph.D.
2. THE STORY OF TEAPOT DOME, by M. E. Ravage.
1. THE LABOR SPY, by Sidney Howard.

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The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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The Week

THE DROUGHT has been a calamity to many farmers, and is inconvenient to those city purchasers who now have to pay higher prices for food. It is not likely to be of much help to the administration in allaying the discontent of those growers who had been suffering from the unprofitable prices of wheat and other crops—the rise of corn prices will take fully as much out of the farmers' pockets as it adds, since corn is used chiefly for feed. But in another sense it is a boon to Mr. Hoover. It gives him a chance to do something that he can do well. In organizing relief for present distress he has confidence and experience. Here he does not fumble and compromise, as he does with issues involving more complex elements of theory and policy. The machinery exists to gather the necessary detailed information; agricultural experts and local officials can be mobilized to do what has to be done. This is an engineering job *par excellence*, and if Mr. Hoover carries it through triumphantly, as we fully expect he will, he will have had an opportunity to play again the role which he knows by heart, and in which the public fancies him. This is bound to restore a certain amount of the confidence which he has lost by blunders in other forms of activity.

THE article in this issue of The New Republic by Francesco Nitti, former Premier of Italy, points out a financial danger which we have long believed would eventually militate against the success of the Mussolini government. As we stated in an editorial published in 1926, Mussolini's program is based on a policy of nationalistic aggrandizement, both political and economic, whereas Italy is so situated by nature that her population cannot flourish except by being fitted into an international economy. No matter how efficient and honest any aggressively nationalistic Italian government might be, it could succeed, if at all, only at the cost of a low standard of living and ruinous taxes. Italy does not feed herself, and cannot possibly do so, even if her agriculture is extended to the utmost limit by high-cost reclamation. She must import food, and to do this she must export manufactures. But she is not well fitted to compete in an export market, with many important types of manufactures; for she has to import coal, iron and non-ferrous metals, as well as other raw materials. She has to pay more for these necessities than do her competitors in northern Europe. Any attempt to maintain a rounded industrial system by tariff or other form of subsidy must therefore either fail or bear heavily on the population. When there is added to these disadvantages the cost of unprofitable colonial adventures and a militaristic establishment, the task of the government is unduly heavy. Italian economy has for years been sustained by foreign loans, which in turn add to her burden. It may well be questioned whether more can safely be lent her.

NEW YORK CITY is again rocked by a municipal scandal, the latest in a long series which has marked the Walker administration. The charge is made that former Magistrate George F. Ewald paid $12,000 for his seat on the bench; and it has been revealed, through some adroit detective work on the part of United States Attorney Tuttle, that at the moment when Ewald received his appointment, at least $10,000 passed through the hands of individuals connected in an important capacity

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with the municipal government. The appointment itself was made by Mayor Walker. The Ewald case is bad enough by itself; but it is far worse when we recall the list of previous similar episodes. There is the scandal of the Board of Standards and Appeals, whose head, William E. Walsh, has been forced to resign and has been indicted, on the ground that persons wishing favors from the Board have been buying them. There is the case of Judge Vause, who resigned under fire after charges of mail frauds, grand larceny and perjury had been made against him. There is the scandal in the Probation Department which caused the resignation of Edwin J. Cooley. There is the famous case of Magistrate Vitale, whose underworld connections became too notorious even for Tammany. There is the City Trust Company scandal. There is the shortage of fees in the County Clerk's office. There is the pay-roll padding in the street-cleaning department. There is the Queens sewer case. These are only the more important items on the list, those in which court action has already been invoked. Every well informed newspaperman knows that there are other scandals which have yet to be brought into the light of day.

THE reputation of the Walker Administration is now so bad that the New York Republicans hope to capitalize it for their own ends. They believe that they may be able to elect a Republican Governor in New York this year. The Democrats, on the other hand, believe that by being wholeheartedly wet, they can not only reëlect Governor Roosevelt, but capture control of the state legislature. Certainly, there is little to choose between the two parties in the Empire State. The New York City Republican organization would be as bad as the Democratic if it ever had an equal opportunity. As things are, it has a working agreement with the Democrats which is quite satisfactory to the Republican bosses; everyone knows that these would much rather see a "friendly" machine Democrat as mayor than an anti-machine Republican of reformist tendencies. Liberal-minded independents in New York will have a hard time finding anyone in either party for whom they can vote *con amore*. Some of them, however, can get some satisfaction out of voting for one or another of several good Socialist candidates for Congress. In the Seventeenth district, Heywood Broun is the Socialist nominee; and he is so much superior to the rank and file of present members of Congress that in a world where merit was the sole test his success would be assured. In the Sixth Congressional district, the Socialists' old wheel horse, Norman Thomas, is the candidate. Readers of The New Republic do not need to be told of Mr. Thomas' fine qualities and his entire fitness for the post he seeks. The Sixth district is dominated by John H. McCooey, the Democratic boss, and we are likely to hear some wholesome truths about that unwholesome person, as well as about the outstanding national issues this year, before the campaign is ended.

THE present depression in agriculture serves to remind us again, and forcibly, of the great changes which have come over the farm in the past few generations. Once the farmer and his family consumed a large part of what they raised, sold little, bought little, and were not much concerned with what was happening beyond their own horizon. Today the typical farm is something of a factory. It turns out, under highly competitive conditions, products the greater part of which are sold; and most of the farmer's income goes for the purchase either of materials and equipment or of consumption goods. His old security and independence are gone; at any moment a new low-cost area in some remote part of the world may come into production in some basic crop and, through overproduction and decreased prices, may affect disastrously the fortunes of millions of farmers who probably never heard of this area and wouldn't know how to spell its name. Agriculture is today a business complicated by all the problems common to other commercial enterprises, plus many of its own. It needs in the most urgent way what it has never had until recently, and has had only on an inadequate scale: expert economic advice.

FOR this and other reasons, unusual importance attaches to a conference which will be in progress at Cornell University, August 18 to 29. It is an international gathering of agricultural economists, who will meet for eleven days to discuss the problems by which farmers in nearly all lands are now faced. Some of the leading men in this field will be present from a long list of countries, including Australia, New Zealand, the Philippines, Poland, Finland, Denmark, Germany, England, Scotland, Ireland, Canada and many parts of the United States. Only one previous international conference of agricultural economists has ever been held, in England in 1929. The fact is less strange than it might seem; it is only within a few years that this branch of economics has been deemed worth the undivided attention of specialists. Yet when the world comes to the point—as it some day must—of fighting overproduction by rationing the agrarian activities of the various countries, these are the men who will do the hard work of creating plans and putting them through. If you look far enough into the future, last year's gathering in England and this year's at Cornell come to have a historic significance which is very great.

THE hearings in California in regard to the Mooney-Billings case have had the result which was to be expected. John MacDonald, the waiter from Baltimore who was the most important witness for the state at the time of the original trials, has stuck to his story that his testimony at that time was a tissue of lies. He has done so under the

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most venomously hostile cross-questioning by members of the California Supreme Court, cross-questioning so malignant in character as to suggest that the judges were less concerned with bringing out the truth than with breaking the witness down and thus leaving the case where it was left by their hostile report published on Independence Day. Though his stories have varied so much that he has shown himself a weak character who might easily be used by a dishonest prosecutor, he has not wavered in denying that his original testimony was true. That MacDonald stuck to his repudiation in the face of such a fire gives the strongest support to the theory and that he lied fourteen years ago. The former members of District Attorney Fickert's staff who appeared on the witness stand failed to live up to their loud-mouthed promises that they would prove Mooney and Billings guilty. They proved nothing except their own bitter prejudice and gullibility when "the class war" is concerned. Estelle Smith, another witness at the original trial, appeared, and by both her manner and her statements succeeded in demonstrating her complete unreliability in 1916 or at any other time. Ever since MacDonald was found again, Governor Young has acted with more courage and fairness than The New Republic would have ascribed to him. There is now but one course open to him as an honorable man: he must set Mooney free and see to it that the Supreme Court takes prompt similar action in the case of Billings.

THE advance of what is perhaps too simply called Communism has been arrested in central China, though it is too early to say that it has been permanently checked. Hankow, the industrial center on the Yangtze River, has not been captured in spite of all predictions. For days the press dispatches have assumed that the Red capture of Nanchang, in Kiangsi province, would be a matter of hours, but the city has not yet fallen. The press dispatches should be read with caution. Prophecies of disaster in China are never quite realized, and in fact the prophets often reveal a mournful delight which ought to awaken a suspicion of their disinterestedness. The event usually falls far short of the anticipation, but since negative news is not news, the discrepancy is rarely pointed out. There is disorder in China; there is desperation on the part of the masses, which have been despoiled year after year by soldiers, bandits and government officials; there is an almost complete lack of normal governmental authority; there is now a serious but disorganized revolt in the Yangtze valley, and in the future there may be mass uprisings on an unprecedented scale and with terrible results. But this is something different from what is generally meant by Communism, especially in Moscow.

AT ALMOST the same moment that Senator Fess, in his new position as head of the Republican National Committee, was issuing his first campaign blast in defense of the tariff, referring to it as "recent legislation in the interest of the American workingman and American agriculture," Carl Williams of the Federal Farm Board was telling the University of Virginia Institute of Public Affairs that the tariff is useless as a form of farm relief. With apparently never a thought for the uncomfortable position in which he was placing Senator Fess, Mr. Williams, speaking as a man who knows cotton probably better than does anyone else in the country, and as a man chosen by the President to take a leading part in administering the Agricultural Marketing Act, at one blast knocked the foundations from under the political defense of the tariff. That high duties on farm products will not help the farmer has been said all along by the economists; but this is the first time it has been said by an official of the Hoover administration. Mr. Williams modified his flat declaration that the tariff cannot raise farm prices with the explanation that it may be of some assistance to "certain farmers raising certain crops, such as peanuts." It can have no effect, he declared, on the big "semi-political crops." Asked to define this term, Mr. Williams said that "for the sake of peace and harmony in the family, perhaps I had better not do that." But had he been eager merely for peace and harmony with Senator Fess, he would not have spoken at all.

THE Anglican bishops, who have been in conference at Lambeth, are reported in the press to have agreed on what they will say this year about birth control. They will be much milder than in the past; instead of denouncing it they will say merely that it "has no part in the perfect Christian married life." We assume that the bishops are not advocating as a substitute the deplorable practice of abortion, and that their statement means that the perfect Christian married couple will have as many children as unchecked nature provides, or something like eight to twelve on the average. If any bishop tries to argue that families should be limited by voluntary abstinence, the answer is that voluntary abstinence has never in the world's history been practised by married people except under mental conditions so abnormal as to be properly characterized as perversion. If the people of England should take the bishops' advice, and begin having children at the rate suggested, what would be the result? In a country with two million unemployed and other millions living in desperate poverty, a country where the population has outrun the native production of food by eighteen or twenty millions, such an orgy of child-bearing as the bishops say they want would be a frightful calamity. The people of that country have shown far better sense than the bishops; their birth rate is now only about sixteen per thousand per annum, one of the lowest in the world. If their advice were taken, the bishops would be the first to cry quits. It is no wonder that the spiritual authority of the church is dwindling, in the face of such patent hypocrisy as this.

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AN OFFICIAL preliminary count made public by the Census Bureau shows that the increase in population for the continental area of the United States during the last decade was 16,987,190, or 16.1 percent, as compared with a gain of 14.9 percent during the preceding decade. These percentages, however, are subject to one important correction. The census of 1920 covered a period of only 116½ months, and the increase was equivalent to 15.4 percent for 120 months. On the other hand, the census of 1930 covered a period of 123 months, and the increase was equivalent to 15.7 percent for 120 months. Thus, the actual rate of increase for the two decades was almost the same, in spite of the fact that the earlier census included the troubled period from 1914 till 1919, when there was practically no immigration. One is forced to the conclusion that the normal yearly growth in population of the United States is decreasing steadily. In a few more decades, the census will probably show that our population is as stable as that of France—a not undesirable situation.

An Expert on Hoover's "Experts"

LAST WEEK The New Republic pointed out the danger that President Hoover's use—or misuse—of expert assistance might discredit the social scientist in public opinion. It recommended, as one safeguard against this calamitous outcome, that whenever an expert disagreed with the administration, he should make his disagreement known. An important and courageous instance of such action has just been brought to light by The New York World, which tells of the resignation of Dr. Charles E. Persons from the Bureau of the Census, as a protest against its attempt to minimize the number of the unemployed.

Dr. Persons is a statistician of repute, who has taught at Wellesley, Princeton, Northwestern and other colleges. At the annual meeting of the American Statistical Association last December he read a paper on "Unemployment as a Census Problem," which bore testimony to his competence for dealing with the subject. The paper explained the difficulty of the task. Dr. Persons, as this paper shows, would not blame the Bureau for failure to include unemployables, or for a total which was rendered too small by unavoidable technical obstacles of census taking. Yet he became so dissatisfied with the methods used by the Bureau that he eventually felt he could not retain both his job and his self-respect.

His objections to an estimate of "2,000,000 unemployed," based on a statement issued June 26 by Secretary Lamont, are of two kinds. First, it is not an estimate of true unemployment, but only of those who literally had no jobs at all, were able to work, and were looking for employment. A man or woman who "had a job" but was laid off for lack of work would not be included in this estimate. Such persons, as Dr. Persons says, "have jobs but no employment. The inconvenient part—that the jobs yielded neither work nor incomes at the time of the census enumerator's visit—did not impede the efforts of the administration's statistician to relieve us of concern over unemployment." If all the unemployed had been included, the total, according to Dr. Persons, might easily have been 5,000,000.

The second objection is to the manner of estimating the total of the jobless themselves. The figure of 2,000,000 was based on a Census Bureau count of 574,647 wage earners without jobs in a area inhabited by 29,264,430 persons—about 2 percent of the population of that area. In this estimate the following errors are found:

The assertion was that the area in question constituted one-fourth of the total population. But four times 574,647—the number of jobless reported in the area—equals not 2,000,000, but about 2,300,000.

The area, as a matter of fact, did not contain one-fourth of the total population, which turned out to be roughly 122,700,000, instead of four times 29,264,430, or 117,057,920. Correcting for this error brings the estimate to 2,454,000.

The reports of jobless in the various parts of the area in question were incorrectly added. The correct total was 604,747, not 574,647. This makes it necessary to boost the estimate about 5 percent more.

Among the regions incorporated in the area in question were six counties of New Hampshire, which were credited with 639,849 inhabitants. Yet the whole state contains only 465,293 persons. Final figures indicate but 291,869 people in these counties. And, to make matters worse, the number of jobless reported there was 30,000 short.

The estimate, as corrected by Dr. Persons for all these errors, became 2,576,700 instead of 2,000,000—a mistake on the low side amounting to nearly 29 percent! And, in addition, there was the incalculable error previously pointed out by others —"rural areas with percentages of jobless desirably low were generously included. . . . On the contrary the chief industrial states were scantily represented."

Director William M. Steuart of the census absolves the central bureau from responsibilty for the arithmetical errors. The figures, he states, were compiled, not at Washington, but by supervisors of the census all through the country, so that the demand for prompt information could be met. Dr. Steuart also states that no estimate for the whole country was given out by any government official. "If some published account of this statement contained an estimate of 2,000,000 jobless for the country as a whole, that was beyond the control of the Department of Commerce." We have no doubt that Dr. Steuart's words are literally true.

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But do they clear the Department from the charge of minimizing the unemployment total?

We find, in The New York Times of June 27, the Census Bureau's announcement of the erroneous figures on which the low estimates were based. (The Times' own estimate was 2,298,588. Dr. Persons evidently saw the 2,000,000 estimate in other papers.) We also find a quotation from Secretary Lamont, as follows:

> I have inspected the localities from which these returns originate. They appear to be a representative sampling of the country. The figures applied to the whole population would indicate much less unemployment than was generally estimated; these unemployment figures also included normal unemployment of persons shifting from one job to another. Since the time of this census there has been the usual increase in employment in various seasonal occupations.

The purpose of this statement is obviously to reassure. Neither in it nor anywhere else in the news story is there any mention of the important distinction between the jobless and the total of unemployed. The statement specifically authorizes the unsound conclusion that the sample is representative. The mistaken estimate of The Times correspondent, fully justified on the basis of the census information, as well as the more seriously mistaken estimates of others, were allowed to pass uncorrected by the government. And there has been no publication, until the interview with Dr. Persons, of the corrected basic figures. It is impossible not to infer that the administration was glad to have the underestimates pass as good currency.

The shiftiness of the administration in rejecting scientific aid, when it is a matter of producing popular impressions which it likes rather than figures which are a better indication of the truth, goes far beyond the incident of Dr. Persons' resignation—even in this single important matter. The American Statistical Association has a Committee on Governmental Labor Statistics. This committee, before the census schedules were drawn up, endeavored to coöperate with the Bureau, by outlining in considerable detail the information on unemployment which should be sought. It recommended that the total count of unemployed should include, not merely those completely out of a job, but those affected by "part-time separation from a job, which may be in the form of entire lay-off for a period of days or weeks, or of part-time unemployment during the day." It said of the various kinds of part-time work, "These are different forms of unemployment, and if any one of them is excluded from the census, the enumeration will be incomplete." This recommendation, together with others of importance, was rejected. The Committee reported to the last annual meeting of the Association, "The final census schedule seems at fault in a number of particulars. . . . There will be no attempt to cover unemployment due to part-time work either within the day or within the week." When the Census Bureau's figure of those having jobs but lacking employment finally appears, it will thus be incomplete.

Having slighted the advice of the accredited experts, the Census Bureau last summer called together another *ad hoc* committee, composed partly of economists and partly of business men and representatives of the United States Chamber of Commerce and the American Federation of Labor. Most of the members of this committee had given no special thought to the problem. It met but once. Yet the Bureau used it as an attempt to give "expert" sanction to what it intended to do in preparing the unemployment schedules. The members were undoubtedly for the most part ignorant of what had preceded. Certainly the body arrived at no considered conclusion.

Is it because Mr. Hoover has heard rumblings of protest from scientific quarters that he has recently announced that he will appoint still another committee to advise him on unemployment statistics? And is this committee to be used as a second coat of whitewash? We shall watch with interest to see how many experts it contains. And we hope, if there are real experts on it, that they will either take pains to open up the whole situation, or else resign and repudiate any responsibility for the administration's action. They must not become accomplices in this distortion of truth, by first allowing their names to be broadcast as governmental advisers, and then permitting themselves to be ridden over, whether by a nonexpert majority or by an official decision. It is time for the scientists to be extremely wary of being taken into Mr. Hoover's camp.

American Opinion and India

THE British have suddenly become disturbed about the American attitude toward India, and quite properly so. There is hardly any other question at present which constitutes a more serious threat to the friendly relations between the two powers. Moreover, American support for their aspirations is an important factor in determining the attitude of some of the chief Indian leaders.

It is regrettable, however, that some of the British discussion of the American attitude has thus far been conducted in unrealistic terms. To read certain comment on this subject in the British press, no one would suppose that the Indians had any sort of legitimate grievance or that any American except one very stupid or shamefully misled could support their aspirations. Two blanket charges are made: first, that American periodicals which present the Indian case are deliberately unfair to Britain; and second, that due to the false statements about India in American journals and books, opinion in this country has been led astray, the inference being that were it not for these falsehoods, opinion here would favor the British cause.

Thus, for example, Mr. Edward Thompson,

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writing a series of articles in The London Times on American opinion and India, makes several accusations against The New Republic, accusations some of which were echoed by Sir Henry Lunn in a recent speech at Leeds. The first of these is that The New Republic was guilty of unfairness in printing the text of Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy without also publishing the Viceroy's reply. A second is that when Mr. Gandhi recently published a list of the terms on which he would negotiate with Great Britain, The New Republic called these terms "just and reasonable," and said that a heavy responsibility would rest upon the British government if it ignored the offer. Mr. Thompson also takes exception to the editorial statement, accompanying Mr. Gandhi's letter, that it "gives a graphic picture of conditions in India as they were then and are now." He remarks, in a fashion which enemies of England would describe as true British style, "it does nothing of the kind."

For careful readers of The New Republic, detailed reply to Mr. Thompson's allegations is hardly necessary. There was no reason why this paper was under any obligation to reprint the Viceroy's letter to Mr. Gandhi, or the statement of the government at the time of his arrest. The New Republic is not a daily newspaper, whose duty it is to print all the news. On the contrary, one important task of The New Republic is to print the news which does not appear in the daily papers. Mr. Gandhi's letter to the Viceroy had been almost overlooked by the American press. The New York Times, which has published by far the most voluminous accounts of the Indian situation, printed only 300 words of this 1,500-word letter. The attitude of the British government, on the other hand, has been adequately and repeatedly set forth. Almost every day for a week, at the time of Mr. Gandhi's arrest, the Viceroy made a speech or published a document giving in detail the government's arguments in favor of its course of action, and these were all reported in ample detail. So far as we can learn, Mr. Gandhi's letter was given less space in the other chief American papers than in The Times, or was ignored, while the government's view was given much space.

Mr. Thompson's complaint that The New Republic took seriously Mr. Gandhi's list of conditions would seem to deny to this paper the right to have any editorial policy of its own. Mr. Thompson apparently would have wished us to say that Mr. Gandhi's proposals were frivolous ones, drawn up for his own amusement, and deserving to be ignored. We still believe that our statement, written immediately after Mr. Gandhi's conditions were issued, was correct.

Mr. Thompson may be interested to know that this paper has received a number of letters accusing it of being too partial to the British cause; as well as others which charge that it has become the tool of Indian propaganda. We have printed about 75 percent of the letters which accuse us of being anti-English, and less than 20 percent of those which say we are anti-Indian—a disproportion explained by the fact that the writers of the latter group duplicate one another so closely.

Mr. Thompson's major point in his series of articles in The London Times, that America has been misled by erroneous statements about India, is fallacious. It is one of those easy generalizations about America into which visiting Englishmen, even when they are as intelligent as Mr. Thompson, are so easily betrayed. Only one book about India has sold in large numbers in the United States in recent years, or has had any appreciable effect upon opinion here. That is Katherine Mayo's "Mother India," a work which is cruelly unfair to the Indians and their cause, and is the most effective pro-British propaganda ever written. Aside from this book, the one important source of American opinion has been the Indian news reports in the columns of our press. Very much of this news, probably more than half of it, has come from British sources, through Reuter's, the British news service which has a coöperative arrangement with the Associated Press. This news, written by Englishmen for Englishmen and passed by the British censorship, certainly has not been unduly tender of the Indians.

We do not pretend to say how numerous are the Americans who sympathize with the Indians; but however many they may be, it is naïve to suppose that they are the victims of a special Indian propaganda. The attitude of these Americans is substantially that of many people in England. It is the same recorded by Ramsay MacDonald in his books written within the past four or five years, after he had visited India, where, as a former Prime Minister and as the leader of the Labor party, he must certainly have had the case for English rule put to him as strongly as possible. In short, we feel confident that if Mr. Thompson and his friends will make a careful investigation they will find that British propaganda in America is quite as extensive as the Indian, or more so, and that it has been skillful and persistent. If in spite of this fact many Americans lean to the cause of India, we suggest that perhaps that cause has some innate merits which are deserving of consideration.

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Breakers Ahead for Fascist Italy

A Former Premier Discusses the Precarious State of Her Finances

WHEN Mussolini first established his rule it was generally believed in the United States that his dictatorship would ensure prosperity in Italy. It was believed that the country's finances would be enormously improved and that henceforth loans could be made to Italy on the security of a stable and efficient dictatorship. Acting upon this belief the citizens of the United States lent Italy many millions of dollars. In fact, the $600,000,000 which Italy has borrowed in the past seven years was loaned to her almost entirely by Americans.

But that Italy under Mussolini has not come up to these expectations of prosperity and financial security is daily becoming more and more evident. The dictatorship is drifting toward insolvency and has been drifting in this direction almost from the very beginning of its rule. Even now it is striving to place new loans in the United States and it is attempting to shore up its crumbling finances by selling to private persons such public utilities as the state monopoly on the manufacture of matches and the government-owned telephone and telegraph systems. But even though Italy's insecure financial condition is evident to a few experts, the Fascist bureaus of propaganda have with an alarming degree of success concealed the facts and have painted the financial condition of the nation in much brighter colors than it in all truth possesses.

It is for this reason, along with many others, that a frank and disinterested investigation of Italy's present economic state should be made. Preferably the investigation should be conducted by a group of American experts, for it is in America that Mussolini has placed and wishes to place the larger part of his loans. Thus, to aid any future investigators, I have written this article wherein I have attempted to treat all the major questions which would confront them. My discussion of the questions is based on authentic sources, on government reports and decrees, on official and semi-official documents of the Fascist government. In order to make my points clearer to both the casual reader and to future investigators of Italy's economic condition, I have written my article in the form of questions and answers. I shall begin with one which concerns itself with the financial condition of the government before Mussolini came into power.

(1) Is it true that before the advent of the dictatorship the Italian budget showed large deficits, and that since then the budget shows a large surplus? All the departments of Fascist propaganda have disseminated the news that this is true. However, if one should refer to the official documents one would discover that the deficit was due only to the expenses incurred during the War. These deficits would normally be covered by special taxation, outlined by Giolitti and me. The only addition to our plans which the Fascist government made was to increase governmental expenditures.

(2) Can we believe the dictatorship when it affirms that the national budget shows a small deficit in the current year and a surplus in the preceding ones? This assertion by the Fascist government is completely false. The budget of the present year shows a huge deficit, no one can say how great. The published reports of the budget are confused and almost incomprehensible. Even in the official reports and in the discussion of the budget in the Fascist chamber there is an implication that the government reports of Italy's financial condition are unreliable. There are a great many expenditures not included in the budget report. Moreover, the reorganization of the budget is used as a subterfuge to postpone the payment of debts and to conceal financial obligations.

(3) What is the degree to which taxation has increased? At the present time the Italian pays the highest taxes in the world. But taxes alone are not his only obligation, for besides them he must pay innumerable contributions for the support of the dictatorship. In order that he may proceed in his ordinary activities the Italian must belong to a corporation and pay tribute to the Fascist leaders. He must voluntarily contribute whenever the Fascist regime indulges in celebrations of any kind or when statues to Mussolini are erected.

(4) Has the Fascist government reduced the number of government employees? The number has increased. Basing my researches on documents presented to the Chamber of Deputies on June 11, 1929, I find that the total amount of wages paid to government employees, which in 1922, before the advent of Mussolini, amounted to the sum of 3,558,000,000 lire, reached in 1927-28 the sum of 4,376,000,000 lire. Many of the most capable employees have been discharged as enemies of Fascism. Moreover, the amount expended for pensions has almost doubled, increasing from 359,000,000 to 753,000,000 lire. Expenditures for civil administration have increased by 988,000,000 lire, while those for the army have been increased by 2,000,000,000.

(5) Are there any special or extraordinary expenditures for the purpose of maintaining the dictatorship? In order to endure, dictatorship must associate with and support a vast army of people.

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It has, therefore, created a large number of incumbencies existing in no other nation in the world. Besides the police, there are six special kinds of militia employed to do espionage work on railroads and in seaports, post offices, telegraph offices, etc. Mailed letters are no longer regarded as private. Local autonomy has been abolished and every town has its *podesta,* who, as a paid agent of Fascism, rules the town arbitrarily. The country swarms with publicity agents of the Fascist government, employed by the corporations of the Fascist party and all its organizations. Summing up the number of persons employed by the Fascist government to protect and defend it, one finds that the Italian taxpayers support about 100,000 of them. An investigation would prove beyond the possibility of doubt that these special employees are the pillars which support the regime.

(6) What is the present condition of the local governments? Never in the whole history of Italy have the local governments been in a worse financial state. Reports coming in to me have been absolutely appalling. They disclose the fact that in the last three years alone the indebtedness of the towns and capitals of the various provinces has increased from 3,016,000,000 to 5,481,000,000 lire. The annual deficit of the communes is about 3,000,000,000 lire a year, or more than $600,000,000. As there are no longer any elections and no control or criticism by a free press, graft and dishonesty have undermined all administrations. The huge debts contracted abroad, especially the $30,000,000 loaned to the city of Milan, have in a short time been wasted in useless public works or, as investigations have proved, through the graft and dishonesty of officials.

(7) Have the military expenditures increased? The Fascist government uses the methods and language of the most unbridled imperialism. It threatens wars and gives military training not only to young men, but to women and children. The total amount of money which it has spent for military purposes has increased since 1922 by more than 50 percent. The military budget includes the payment of salaries to the railroad militia consisting of about 2,845 men, who are paid an average of about $2,500 a year. It is their duty to police all Italian trains. Then, too, there are the expenditures which the Fascist government has made in Albania to prepare that country for war. However, not all the expenditures are made public in the official reports.

(8) Against what country does the Fascist government plan to make war? When Mussolini and his supporters speak against "imperialism" they mean war with France. This is due to the fact that France is the only continental nation that has a large colonial empire and territories to which the Italian nationalists lay claim. But war cannot be declared against France without a declaration of war against her ally Jugoslavia. For this reason the Fascist government has encouraged the imperialistic aspirations of Hungary and Bulgaria. In proof of this statement I need only recall the scandal which the League of Nations with great difficulty suppressed when six carloads of machine guns, shipped from Verona, were seized in Austria. In its attempt to knife Jugoslavia, the Fascist government has taken Albania under its protection and has spent more than $60,000,000 there for public works, chiefly of a military nature. It seems extremely important to me that an investigation should be made of the work carried on in Albania under the direction of the Italian General Pariani and his corps of officers. Such an investigation, I am certain, would be sure to reveal an extremely grave danger of war.

(9) Does economic freedom exist in Italy? The entire economic life of the nation is under the direct control of the Fascist government. Business men and manufacturers are held in such suspicion by the Fascists that they are not even permitted to choose their own representatives in the chambers of commerce. The government itself appoints the members and the meetings are presided over by the prefect of the province. One can readily believe that little freedom of discussion exists at these meetings.

(10) What is Italy's industrial and agricultural condition? With the exception of the electric industries, there is a depression in all branches of economic life. This the Fascist government does its best to conceal in all its official reports. However, in all forms of industry and commerce the signs of economic depression are evident. Laborers and farmers, hating the Fascist regime, do their work without care or enthusiasm. The bank reports, in spite of the optimism which they are forced to display, indicate a general feeling of insecurity. The report of the Banca d'Italia which was made public March 31, 1930, shows that industry is in a state of depression and that in 1929 alone 63 banks failed and 180 went out of business. During the last seven years more than 700 banks have failed. Moreover, Italy at this moment not only has more protested and unpaid notes than any other country in the world, but it also has the greatest number of commercial failures. According to official reports and the monthly bulletin of statistics published by the League of Nations, February, 1930, Italy, which had 306,703 protested notes in 1922, had as many as 898,006 in 1929. To a large extent all the notes reported as paid have merely been renewed, and the situation of all banks is very insecure. Though Italy has far fewer industries than France and England, yet she has had more failures than those two countries together. Failures have risen from a monthly average of 321 in 1922 to an average of 1,076 in 1929. In March, 1930, there were 1,362.

(11) What did the stabilization of the lira produce? Stabilization was most injurious to in-

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dustry and agriculture and has made the burden of taxation almost unbearable. Though stabilization was necessary, it was made at an absurdly high level. France stabilized the franc in the proportion of one to five to her gold, Belgium at one to seven, while Italy stabilized her lira at one to three and a half. This extravagant proportion precipitated a financial crisis. It upset the export and import trade and drove Italian capital out of the country. From the reports published by the Banca d'Italia and from unpublished documents presented to the Senate, it appears that the loss to the treasury has reached the sum of nearly $160,000,000. The reserves in the Banca d'Italia are decreasing daily and the balance of payments due becomes more and more unfavorable.

(12) How did the stabilization of the lira effect the balance of trade? The deficit revealed by the balance of trade was $248,000,000 in 1922, when after-war conditions were extremely bad. However, in 1928 it reached the sum of $408,000,000, while in 1929 it was $363,0000,000. How is this difference in the balance of trade to be covered? In Italy, which is a debtor country, the balance was covered in three ways. First, by remittances from emigrants in foreign countries, second, by money spent by tourists, and third, by the revenue derived from the mercantile marine. Due to the political maneuvers of the Fascist government, all these revenues have dwindled away. Remittances from Italian emigrants during the last six years have decreased from $140,000,000 to $40,000,000. The Banca di Napoli, which forwards remittances from Italian emigrants in the United States, reports that whereas it forwarded $27,000,000 in 1925, it forwarded only $12,500,000 in 1929. Tourists are gradually abandoning Italy, for they are unwilling to submit to the restrictions which a dictatorial government imposes upon them. It is estimated that the revenue derived from the tourist trade has decreased by more than 40 percent, that it has fallen from $100,000,000 to $60,000,000. The revenue derived from the shipping trade has also sharply declined. All private ship-owners have failed. The shipping corporations are in difficulties. Some have gone bankrupt; others, such as the Cosulich Line, have been forced to merge, while the Navigazione Generale and similar lines are in a difficult position, as is clearly proved by the declining market value of their stock.

(13) What is the present condition of the lira? Extremely uncertain. Official reports published in the Gazetta Ufficiale on April 22, 1930, show that the reserves of the Banca d'Italia have decreased from $637,000,000, when the lira was stabilized, to $530,000,000 by the end of March, 1930. The continuous deterioration of the balance of payments is largely due to the fact that Italians, having little faith in the stability of the lira, deposit their surplus capital in foreign banks. Swiss and French banks are flooded by deposits sent them by Italians seeking to avoid the possible danger of the decline of the lira.

(14) Why does the value of securities seem relatively stable? This is caused by the fact that stocks and bonds have only the arbitrary values which the government imposes upon them. Police agents inspect all sales, not only without, but within, the exchanges. Brokers are required to furnish a list of the sellers, and those who are unloading large quantities of consolidated bonds, which the government does not want given a real market value, expose themselves to danger of imprisonment. The Wall Street Journal, in its issue of January 26, 1929, justly remarked that it is difficult to imagine a financial suicide more complete than the Fascist reorganization of the Italian exchanges. Newspapers recently gave much publicity to the report that a number of brokers on the Rome stock exchange were arrested and imprisoned for having told some of their friends that the price of government bonds seemed too high.

(15) Does the Fascist government keep its financial promises? From Mussolini down, the leaders of the Fascist government, believing the state to be supreme, attribute no importance to the keeping of financial promises. The list of promises they have broken is a long one. On November 6, 1926, payment was refused on 17,832,000,000 lire of treasury bonds and they were converted into *littorio,* that is to say, consolidated bonds at 5 percent. Banks and institutes of credit have been forced to buy a recent issue at 87.50 lire, even though it was being offered on the Exchange for less than 80. Unfortunately, however, the new issue has yielded less than 2,000,000,000 lire.

(16) Has the Italian public any desire to save its money? Having no faith in the stabilization of the lira, or in the value of national bonds, or in the financial promises made by the government, the public sees no reason why it should save. The Fascist government, however, tries to impose saving upon it. As the government does not consider business a free activity, but rather an activity at the service of the state, business becomes a bureaucratic concession. By the decree of December 16, 1926, anyone wishing to enter into business, even if it is only to sell fruit or newspapers, must receive official sanction and deposit a sum of money as a guarantee. This sum cannot be withdrawn. There are two reasons for this guarantee. First, it keeps all business men in submission, for government sanction of their business can at any time be rescinded, and second, the compulsory deposit of a guarantee is tantamount to compulsory saving. But compulsory saving does not end here. By the law of December 29, 1927, all merchants, manufacturers and landlords must deposit a sum of money with the state to protect it from possible errors which its agents may make.

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No dictatorship which has endured for any length of time has ever ended in anything save revolution and war. However, an objective and disinterested investigation of the present economic condition of Italy would be of far greater value than abstract criticism of its present state of politics. For such an investigation would tell us whether a reactionary regime produces more useful results than a liberal one, whether a despotism is more efficient than a democracy, and, finally, whether coördination enforced from above is better than the free manifestation of individual activity.

The Fascist government would be a magnificent field for such an investigation, for it offers us living evidence of the dogma that suppression of liberty means the suppression of wealth. I hope, therefore, that a group of Americans will decide to make an investigation, for in all truth neither my arguments nor those of the friends of Fascism can be considered in any other light than as material to be studied. The investigation must be objective, and when the results are finally published it will be of enormous service to civilization, for I firmly believe that it will explode one of the most dangerous and costly illusions of our time.

FRANCESCO NITTI.

Aviation Blues

IF ONE were to judge only by investments, the public is intensely interested in aviation. It put half a billion dollars into the hands of aviation promoters. People, recalling the mushroom growth of the movie and automobile industries, wanted to get in on the ground floor. During the peak of the bull market the stock of thirty-three aviation companies listed on the Stock Exchange and the Curb Market was valued at $1,160,000,000. The crash brought this value down to $284,000,000.

The trouble with aviation at present is that the people who invested half a billion dollars in the industry don't sufficiently believe in it to travel in airplanes themselves. One of Wall Street's leading aviation financiers succinctly expressed the prevailing attitude: "I'll do anything for aviation except fly." The banker's companies have spent thousands of the public's half billion trying to convince everyone that flying is safe and comfortable. Actually it is safer than it is comfortable, but the propaganda didn't work as well as was expected. Most people never even think of taking an airplane to get anywhere.

It seems curious that our astute banker should have believed the public would fly although he wouldn't. One is accustomed to thinking that such men are intelligent and far-sighted. The banker's mistake was a natural one. He simply mistook a speculative interest in aviation for a real interest in it. His business is finance, and, as a financier, he knew that last year's public was wild to buy aeronautical stocks. Lindbergh made the country "air-minded." The financiers capitalized a kind of heroic hysteria, and millions of dollars' worth of shares were issued and sold. But as it was necessary to make some show of activity for all that money, vast companies were formed and airlines laid out as if the public were begging to fly. It wasn't.

Desperately conscious of their empty planes, airline operators reduced their rates to the combined railroad and pullman fare. At these low rates every passenger was being carried at a loss. Traffic doubled and even tripled almost immediately. It was stated that the hitch had been "fare, not fear." Even if this were true, however, the situation would not be relieved, for operators soon realized that in order to make a profit they must charge a higher fare than the railroads, and are now doing so. Furthermore, even at the low rates, there was not a notable desertion from railroads to airplanes, for the total number of air passengers carried last year was only 150,000.

In other words, although aviation has passed through a period of intense public interest in more or less wildcat speculation, it has not yet reached the point where the public's attitude might be termed consumer-interest. Until that point is reached, aviation cannot be called a stabilized industry.

But before this necessary consumer-interest can be aroused at least three things must be accomplished by the aviation industry. First, practical safety devices must be developed to make air travel even safer than it is today, and this can be done only by men who are more interested in aviation than in the stock market. Second, the widespread public fear of the airplane as a means of transportation must be allayed. And, third, aviation companies must be soundly financed so that profits will accumulate and not be dispersed.

Among the companies hopefully awaiting the ripening of a consumer-interest in aviation, there are five major groups. No attempt will here be made finally to evaluate them, nor are they necessarily listed here in the order of their importance. They are the United Aircraft and Transport Corporation, the Western Air Express-Fokker Aircraft Corporation (in which General Motors is involved), the Curtiss-Wright Company, the Detroit Aircraft Company and the Aviation Corporation. At least two of these groups made money last year, and are based on what seem secure foundations for future

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expansion. The rest of them were so heavily subsidized by a gulled public that despite bad business methods they are still solvent.

Of the smaller companies, one or two may soon equal or surpass the leaders just mentioned. There is, for instance, the Stinson-Cord combination. "Eddie" Stinson, one of the country's best flyers, has been building good planes in a modest way for years. E. L. Cord, who made millions with his Auburn automobile in a highly competitive field, became interested in flying and decided to build planes. The pair have just precipitated aviation's first major price war, with the result that airplanes are now from $2,000 to $10,000 cheaper than they were six months ago. Indeed, there is serious talk of "mass production" as a means of lowering the high price of aircraft and motors.

Another interesting figure is Giuseppe Bellanca, a somewhat lonely aeronautical genius who doesn't like financiers. He seems to have no reason for building airplanes except to show his competitors how. Some discriminating people buy them. Competitors like him because by following his designs closely, they are able to produce airplanes which fly almost as well as his originals.

Most of the airlines are controlled by the five great groups mentioned. Even Pan-American Airways, Inc., though still independent, is owned in part by several of these groups. From almost any point of view—safety, efficiency, even economy—it could stand as a model airline. From Miami, more than 13,000 miles of airways spread, running over the West Indies and down through Central America to Santiago, Chile, and Buenos Aires, with a spur through Mexico.

It may seem surprising that despite the public lack of interest in aviation as a mode of transportation there should be about 25,000 miles of domestic airlines over which 500 pilots fly 90,000 miles daily. Last year they carried 7,700,000 pounds of mail, 60 percent of it at night. In one way or another the public has to pay for this. It costs the government $8.81 to send a pound of mail from Boston to Los Angeles by air, but the government charges only eighty cents.

"Until the people of the United States become more thoroughly convinced of the safety and utility of air transportation for themselves, it is the duty of the government to continue its support," said Postmaster-General Brown, explaining why his department, together with those of Commerce and Agriculture, contributed $30,000,000 to the development of commercial aviation last year.

The general public's lack of confidence in the safety and utility of air transportation is evidenced by the fact that in this country there is only one plane to every 19,800 persons and to every 2,977 automobiles. Moreover, last year there were actually one-fifth as many student pilots as there were airplane passengers. Consider how disconcerting this situation would be if it existed in other forms of transportation—if, for example, there were to be one locomotive engineer to every five railroad passengers.

For any but a millionaire's pocketbook, airplanes are too high priced. Last year 6,034 were manufactured at an average retail price of $6,276.75. The 7,378 motors for them sold for $3,243.65 each, at an average. Few people can afford a $9,500 automobile, which has a longer life than an airplane and is less expensive to maintain. There are, it is true, a few good sport planes to be had for $4,000, but economy in airplanes comes high.

It is legitimate to ask, then, whether the aviation industry is worth this subsidizing. Airlines are being extended so that it is now possible, except for the oceans, to go round the world by regular air-transport lines. Plans are being laid to bridge the ocean gaps by dirigible and airplane in the next two or three years. More people are flying every day, every month, every year. More money is being lost while the industry expands. This comparatively infant form of transportation asks to be coddled, like any other infant.

Many people suggest that it might be better to wait until greater safety in air transportation is achieved before such service is offered to the unwitting public. That those in charge of aviation are improving their service daily is indisputably shown by statistics. Today there is one death per million miles flown in regular airline operation. Other flying is three times more fatal.

However, the fact remains that the commercial world demands greater and greater speed in transportation. If the airplane with its 110 to 180 miles an hour were discarded, it would be sorely missed and its return demanded. No less imperatively the military world demands new and more effective arms. The airplane is the deadliest weapon yet known, and in the next war it will make battleships useless.

Meanwhile, aviation is having a temporarily bad time of it. Not so popular as they were in 1929, the financiers, from dire necessity, are being forced to listen to business men who prefer to turn back their hard-won profits into the industry instead of diverting them into the pockets of a few short-sighted promoters. Private flying for sport, while increasing slowly, cannot be counted on seriously to provide much consumer-interest. Airplane designers have yet to produce a craft which is as easy to manipulate as an automobile. Even automobiles aren't foolproof, but an enormous number of fools drive them rather safely, and when an equally safe airplane is devised, it will undoubtedly be popular. The present outlook for such an airplane is neither bright nor dark. It will come, perhaps the day after tomorrow. People will fly because they are powerless to combat the inevitable. The airplane is our fastest method of transportation, and our civilization is geared to high speed. The next generation will fly and will have this generation to thank for it.

BRUCE GOULD.

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The League Fights the Poppy

THE WAR against opium has a wide-flung line of battle, stretching from East to West. There are three sectors where, at different intervals, attack has been concentrated. First, there is the sector where the attack is on the production of the poppy; this offensive has been carried into the countries where the growth of the plant and the production of the gum is a serious factor economically. Here the battle cry has been, "Pull up the poppy." In the next sector of the line, the attack is on the evils of smoking and eating opium. The focal points are India, China, and the citizens of both who have emigrated to colonies in the East owned by European powers. Here the faithful have rallied to the slogan, "No government monopoly—complete prohibition of the vice." In the third sector, the concern is with the overmanufacture of dangerous drugs, and the call to battle has been phrased, "Limit manufacture to the medical and scientific needs of the world, and so prevent drugs from reaching the smuggler who creates and supplies addicts."

Frederick A. Delano of Washington, former member of the Federal Reserve and an eminent engineer, headed a League commission to Persia in 1926 to find if reduction in poppy culture was a practical solution. The answer was clear—the time is not yet ripe to ask countries like Persia and Turkey to substitute other crops for the poppy. So this sector is, for the moment, quiet.

The sector leading from East to West—because it involves Eastern territory governed by Western powers—is in a state of armistice pending the return of a commission sent by the League of Nations to report on the difficulties encountered by the Western powers in fulfilling their promises, made at the Hague Convention of 1912, gradually to suppress the smoking of opium. These obligations were elaborated and made more explicit in the first Geneva Convention of 1924—a doubtful advance on this sector. This convention gained a Pyrrhic victory. When the Smoking Opium Commission returns with its report, which is expected to be in Geneva in time for the 1930 Assembly, the armistice will be over and the battle will begin.

The tacticians who consider the whole front are afraid to push forward too far in this central sector of opium smoking, lest the victims of the pipe become, if it be removed, victims of the morphine needle. So the attack is vigorously pursued at this moment on the western front, for, with the exception of Japan, all manufacture of dangerous drugs is carried on in the western world. At the last Assembly of the League of Nations a great advance was made. All the countries agreed to limit manufacture of these drugs to the medical and scientific needs of the world. The Opium Advisory Committee, the League technical body which deals with this problem, is preparing plans to make this limitation possible. There will necessarily be a world quota, based on the amount of drugs each person will consume in the form of medicine. As this world quota must be divided equitably among the drug factories of the world, the attack lies in the economic field. For the first time a world quota of a necessary article of commerce is to be determined. What one might call the "general staff" sat in January in Geneva as a subcommittee of the Opium Advisory Committee, to work out plans for this campaign.

The Health Committee of the League has drawn up a report on the medical needs in different countries, on the basis of their various drug requirements. This document was discussed by the subcommittee, for some basis must be found by which to compute the amount needed in each country. Sovereign rights demand, however, that the amount be fixed by each country on its own estimate of its own needs. This report of the Health Committee will serve only as a guide and as a check on the figures supplied by the governments.

But here I will leave my metaphor of the battlefields and embark on another. Dangerous drugs I always picture, not as ampoules of morphine crystals or boxes of neatly folded powders containing heroin, but as a great loosely woven basket full of poisonous cobras. Anyone who tries to move this basket from one place to another may receive a deadly wound. Therefore, it should be moved as little as possible, in as direct a line and with as few people to handle it as can be managed. Moreover, those who move it should be fully aware of the dangers and difficulties of the business. Figures of speech are apt to be misleading, and I must abandon my simile of the basket; yet I need not abandon the reality of the dangers incurred in moving the basket.

Let us take first the simplest proposal for a method to limit the manufacture of these dangerous drugs. Each government should make the amount necessary for its own medical needs, in a laboratory installed in the office of its Public Health Service. It is a delightful picture, alluring in its simplicity. Under the dome of the Capitol at Washington imagine a sort of witches' caldron presided over by a somewhat portly Surgeon-General of the Public Health Service, while gathered around him are government messengers, each holding at arm's length a dispatch box to be filled from the caldron with morphine, codein, cocaine and medicinal opium, which he is to bear directly to hos-

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pitals and licensed pharmacies. But when one realizes the necessity for making some hundreds of proprietary medicines and preparations into which a small amount of the salts of morphine or cocaine must enter—almost all of these preparations being protected by patents and forming the bulk of the legitimate export of dangerous drugs—our picture melts away into the vague steam of the caldron. If only the solution were as simple as our metaphor! Nevertheless, we have touched certain essential points of the subject, as we did with our simile of the basket of cobras. For it suggests the idea that there should be a few factories directly supervised by a responsible government official, preferably in the Public Health Service. These factories should deliver their products to a very few agencies—all under careful government supervision—in containers easily identified. The delivery should be made to responsible middlemen, but in very definitely limited quantities. All these valuable ideas are contained in our metaphor of the caldron. However, the rest of this discussion must, I am afraid, leave parables alone and enter the unpoetic field of economics.

Even though a world quota were established, only about nine important countries manufacture at present many times the amount of narcotics needed for medicinal purposes. Each manufacturing country, after producing enough for its own citizens, asks for a share of the market created by the medical needs of the various non-manufacturing countries.

Why should not the manufacture of narcotics be based on the present amount of export by each country? The session of the Opium Advisory Committee has clearly shown by the records of the illicit traffic that the countries whose exports are very high are the countries whose manufacturers are most directly entangled in the smuggling of drugs. I refer, in particular, to the revelations of the Egyptian chief of police, Russell Pasha, regarding Rössler of Mulhouse and Hefty of Berne; and the revelations of the Société Industrielle de Chimie de Ste. Geneviève in the Rochambeau case. These have proved this fact as far as Switzerland and France are concerned. One hears rumors of the surplus of cocaine from Japan finding its way into Manchuria and India, although so far the proved cases in these territories are not so complete as those inculpating the French and Swiss manufacturers. Mr. Lyall, the Far Eastern assessor on the Opium Advisory Committee, said in public session that Borgia was an amateur in poisoning; the standards of professional poisoning had changed; Hefty, the Swiss, caused as much evil and suffering as a major military engagement, and Rössler was responsible for the amount of human destruction of a whole war. Where will the next proved cases of illicit traffic lead? Will the German factories, so closely allied to many of the Swiss firms, come out of these revelations with a clean record? Recent information leads to factories just established in Constantinople.

It is certainly evident that one cannot establish the medical needs of the non-manufacturing countries on the basis of present output of the manufacturing countries. Is there any way of sifting the legal exports from those which reach the smuggler? Technically, the question is "How to assign quotas to the manufacturing countries?" In any ordinary trade agreement, this could be done by bringing together the representatives of the trade in question. But that honest drug manufacturers are few is proved by the fact that the extent and personnel of the smuggling trade must be an open secret to all drug manufacturers. Yet there never has been any effective move among them to clear up their own trade practices or to coöperate with their governments to reform weak legislation.

However, the manufacturers of narcotics in the United States and Great Britain are not involved in these scandalous disclosures of lax administration or the even more reprehensible delay in carrying out treaty agreements. When our observer at Geneva, for example, pointed out to the French representative that promises undertaken by France in 1912 were not in effect in 1928, he received the answer, "*Malheureusement—oui.*" That the manufacturers of the two Anglo-Saxon countries are not involved is due to firm action in clearing up the respective situations by the authorities of the United States and Great Britain. It is not due to moral fervor on the part of Anglo-Saxon drug firms.

The problem of dividing up the export market without giving the dishonest manufacturers the lion's share leads us to the consideration of cartels. This idea has been in the air for many years. It was brought first to the attention of the Advisory Committee by a German, Dr. Anselmino. A cartel scheme, submitted by M. Bourgois, representative of France, was presented to the subcommittee. For a long time it has seemed probable that some plan of this type would be the ultimate solution. There are grave difficulties in the way, however, the chief one being how to allow a country to buy its supplies wherever it wishes. To provide some leeway in this matter, M. Blanco, of the Anti-Opium Bureau of Geneva, has evolved a scheme called the System of Stipulated Supply, which, however, permits competition for the markets of the world and a price war between different manufacturers. This aspect seems the greatest weakness of this project. There is also the difficulty of preparing long in advance the list of preparations a country wishes to import during a given year. However, a compromise between too great fixity of direct division on a share basis and too great laxity to the trade, which the plans of stipulated supply seem to permit, may help to solve this difficult problem.

In fact, a compromise has recently been suggested by the subcommittee of the Opium Advi-

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sory Committee. It is suggested in the first place that estimates of narcotic requirements for medical and scientific needs be furnished by every country, and that the total of these estimates be used as a basis for the amount of narcotics to be manufactured. The allocation of the amount to be manufactured by each country will then be established by the manufacturing countries themselves, the figures to be based on the present normal production for legal purposes.

Furthermore, the subcommittee suggests that each country be permitted to send its orders for drugs to whatever country it chooses to send them. The order, however, must pass through a central bureau or clearing house established by each manufacturing country. This clearing house, before the order is accepted, must receive a guarantee that the country placing the order is entitled to receive the amount ordered and that it is to be used for strictly legal purposes.

Even though it is one of those compromises for which Geneva has become famous, a great advance has certainly been made. Formerly, at these sessions, there appeared above the serious bald heads of the government delegates, bent over their documents around the horseshoe table in Salle C at the Secretariat, a frieze hanging in thin air. And this frieze was composed of the mocking faces of dope smugglers, the cynical faces of manufacturers who keep within the law they themselves have dictated and the faces of transport agents who repack the smuggled drug. Today there are empty spaces in that unholy frieze. Certain members have been removed from it, and the expression of many of the remaining faces has changed. And gradually, if one looks closely with the eyes of faith, one sees this cruel band dissolve under the wistful eyes of the multitude of Egyptian *fellaheen*, the sunken sockets of Chinese laborers in Manchuria, the furtive shame of youthful gangsters in America. Silent, tragic, relentless, the victims have made their way into the meetings of the Advisory Committee on the Traffic in Opium and Dangerous Drugs.

HELEN H. MOORHEAD.

To Li Po

Mingle the oceans into cups of wine
And lift all seven to your heart's content.
Your ancient impulses becoming mine—
I know, with cups, the fullness that you meant.
You meant, pausing as I do for a dram,
That Heaven himself might call and we not come.
You were as independent as I am
Of purple canopies and bell and drum . . .
You tottered to the summons, you were carried
Drunk and half-blinded in the servants' arms.
You moved your brush, the court was haunted, harried
With premonitions and with high alarms,
Because a tidal wave of tipsy speech
Had made all China but a crumbling beach.

WITTER BYNNER.

Oedipus: The Future of Love

In a state of midsummer madness induced by reading and reviewing too many books about Sex, the Libido, the Oedipus Complex and the premarital customs of the Trobriand Islanders, I began to speculate on the future of Love as foreshadowed by that science or religion known to its adherents as the New Sexology. The present brief essay, which is either funny or pathetic, is in either case the result of these speculations—though it also is deeply indebted to the researches of Stekel, Tenenbaum, Wittels, Glueck, Schmalhausen, Calverton, A. Forel, H. Ellis, F. Dell, Peggy Joyce, B. Russell, J. Abercrombie, Fitch, Von Lengerke, Detmold, Bausch, Lomb, Zeiss, Worth, Chanel, Briffault, Coty, John B. Watson, A. G. Spalding and Brothers, Haig, Haig and others.—M. C.

The reforms proposed by leading sexologists, in their eagerness to end our present state of erotic bankruptcy and guide us toward the brisk future of Love, are numerous in every field, but especially in that of education. By liberating the children of today from their repressions, compulsions, psychoses, neuroses—by giving their little libidos room to grow and kick and squirm—they are training the triumphant lovers of the future. But let me give a few concrete examples:

In the Hasenpfeffer-on-Hudson Experimental Kindergarten at Hasenpfeffer-on-Hudson, the happiest results have been obtained by substituting Floyd Dell's "Love in the Machine Age" for McGuffey's "First Reader." A kind of shorter catechism based on Mr. Dell's ideas has been prepared for the benefit of the tots who are still unable to read. It is an inexpressible pleasure to hear them repeating in their fresh voices:

Q. What is our aim?
A. To follow the higher mammalian mating pattern.
Q. And why should we follow the higher mammalian mating pattern?
A. In order to achieve wholly adult lives lived from almost wholly instinctive motives.
Q. And why should we achieve such wholly adult and almost wholly instinctive lives?
A. In order that we may all live happily ever after in heterosexual matehood.

These questions and answers are repeated *ad libido*, until the time comes for the happy children to swarm out to the playground and spin their tops and skip their ropes and talk with one another confidentially about the higher mammalian mating pattern.

In the Joy and Freedom School at Pelham Bay Park Manor Lodge-in-the-Bronx, the boys and girls are taught to read from "Lady Chatterley's Lover." It has been found by experience that the little ones are quick to assimilate D. H. Lawrence's simple and monosyllabic vocabulary, in which they greatly delight. Often, indeed, they are so fond of these new words that they write them on the walls of the schoolroom—a practice in which they are encouraged by their wisely indulgent teachers, who are careful, however, to dot the i's and cross the t's. On the

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other hand, the directors of the Joy and Freedom School make every effort to keep the children from learning such words as chastity, virtue or purity, which might put impure thoughts into their minds.

An even more interesting experiment in education has lately been proposed by Hyman L. Jones and Imogene Smeet. It is based on a fundamental doctrine of the new sexology—namely, that everything goes by opposites. Thus, men of the Don Juan type are really homosexual, as is obviously shown by the way they run after women. Messalinas, so-called, are the blameless victims of their frigidity. Philanthropists, says Dr. Fritz Wittels, a very distinguished pupil of Freud, are suffering from a sublimated form of sadism. People are cleanly because they love dirt, masculine because they are feminine, feminine because they are neuter, and neuter because their mothers dreamed of snakes, trees, the Woolworth Building, vacuum cleaners, Mussolini, or fried herrings. Now, the Jones-Smeet System consists in applying this knowledge gained from the battlefield of love in the arena of education. To give a very simple example, the little boys who pull cats' tails will no longer be whipped. Instead they will be cheered on to other ventures—tying tin cans to puppy dogs, sticking pins in their baby brothers, daubing their mothers' evening gowns with their sisters' best rouge and exploding giant firecrackers under their fathers' chairs. Other children will be encouraged to imitate them; and thus, by developing millions of little sadists under the Jones-Smeet System, we shall develop millions of aged philanthropists. Poverty and Bolshevism will be abolished in the next generation.

But what of the little boys who cannot sublimate their sadistic impulses? What of the adolescents who still delight in the infliction of pain on their parents, their teachers, their schoolmates? Under the Jones-Smeet System, they too will have their useful place. They will be taught the history of Tiberius, Nero Genghis Khan, Ivan the Terrible and the Spanish Inquisition; they will be encouraged to improve on ancient cruelties by the methods of modern science; and then, when they grow up, they can all be dentists. Think of the new drills, the pulp extractors, the chisels, saws and dental hammers which their sadistic impulses will enable four out of five of them to contribute to a world society eager for progress!

The same general procedure can be followed with other childish perversions. Fortunately for the success of the Jones-Smeet System, the list of these is extensive, as we learn by referring to the latest published work of Dr. Samuel D. Schmalhausen, the greatest of the sexological list-compilers. In a paragraph devoted to the common habits of childhood, he mentions a great number of perversions from which he doubts that any civilized home is free. Among them are obsessive auto-erotism, homo-erotic curiosity, overt homosexuality, oral-erotic and more frequently anal-erotic experimentings, voyeurism and exhibitionism (with a sense of guilt and shame), heterosexual games (playing mamma and papa), sadistic sexual fantasies, and others too numerous to mention.

Now, in this rich store of perversions, the sexologists have discovered an unparalleled opportunity for improving the world. Take voyeurism, or peeping, for example. Little boys who peep through windows can be taught to peep through keyholes. Having acquired this simple accomplishment—which fits them for domestic service—they can easily learn to peep through microscopes and thus become the bacteriologists of the future. Or to peep through telescopes and discover new planets. Or to peep through opera glasses and join the Theater Guild. Exhibitionists, on the other hand, if recognized and trained at an early age, will provide a bountiful supply of actors, poets, flagpole sitters and sex-book writers—or, by the principle of opposites, they will furnish us with the modest, retiring people necessary as a background for actors, poets and heroes of the microphone. It is true that the children who insist on playing heterosexual games, such as Papa and Mamma, Post Office and the like, present a more difficult problem, but it is not insoluble. After all, they can end by getting married and giving birth to the winsomely perverted children who will become the philanthropists, dentists, astronomers, heroes and husbands of the future.

Such is the general theory on which Hyman L. Jones and Imogene Smeet are about to base a radical departure in education. The Behaviorists, however, are unwilling to accept the Jones-Smeet System, on the ground that it comes too late in the life of the child. Proper training for Love should, they believe, begin at the age of one day, and sooner if possible. Some orthodox Freudians go still further. They believe that such training should begin in the womb of the first monkey, and they have lately dispatched an expedition to the Gobi Desert to find this fossilized womb.

Personally I favor all these methods for reforming Love through education. I also favor the many non-educational methods which have been proposed from time to time. I favor the nationalization of babies, including Peggy Joyce. I favor the total abolition of families, including the Scandinavian. I favor promiscuity for adolescents, as recommended by the scientists who have studied this custom among the Western Samoans, the Trobriand Islanders and the head hunters of New Guinea, where they find that it has contributed to the high state of civilization now existing among these peoples. I favor the achievement of freedom for adults by compulsory psychoanalysis. I favor group motherhood and eugenic babies. I favor extra-marital experiences for great-grandmothers. I favor the Single Tax. I favor polygamy, polygyny, polyandry, exogamy, endogamy, monogamy, cryptogamy, trial marriage and miscegenation. My only criticism of these experimental ways, paths or methods of Love is that they do not go far enough.

I therefore wish to advance a simple suggestion of my own. It is that absolute birth control be instituted immediately. If this were practised throughout the world for three or four generations, many of the ills from which society has suffered in the past would, I believe, be well on their way to being cured.

Yes, in the future, in the bright sexological by-and-by, every day will be Sunday for happy lovers. Every day will be Sunday for almost everybody. The world will have been made safe for the universal libido. Divorce, frigidity in men, Bolshevism, crime, the drug habit, unem-

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ployment, hippophagy, athlete's foot and manic-depressive insanity, all will have been cured by the new sexology. Everyone will be normal—perfectly, unquestionably, altogether normal. Everyone will be perpetually in love. "The libidinous natures of men and women," says Dr. Schmalhausen, who knows so much about them, "for so long cramped and mutilated and sorely wounded within the straitjacketing confines of family life, will break beautifully and abundantly into acts of social compassion and humanistic love." Men and women will love one another. Boys and girls will love one another. Cats and dogs will love one another. Freud, Jung and Watson will love one another. The lion will lie down with the lioness on one side and the ewe-lamb on the other. Nation will yearn after nation, and there will be a great outpouring of French love into Germany, of German love into France, of British love into America, of American love into those Caribbean countries that lie panting for our embrace. Through a limitless forest of skyscrapers, each of them dedicated to heterosexual matehood, men and women garbed in white will march in long processions chanting, "Love! Love! Love! Love!" For—I quote from a sexological primer by Dr. Joseph Tenenbaum—"in the beginning there was Love; the eternal love impulse seeking ever new forms of incarnation. And in the End there will be Love; the serene, the immaculate, the sinless, the spotless Love; Matter and Spirit blended together in seraphic harmony. The day will come and Adam will triumphantly reënter Paradise lost, chastened, experienced and knowing; a Man worthy of the gods and a God among men."

MALCOLM COWLEY.

Thanks to a Pig

WHEN I was something over fourteen a little pig fell in the cistern at the school I attended, and typhoid broke out and the school closed. It was a sort of seminary where young ladies boarded, but the town pupils were both girls and boys. Since there was nothing else in town except a very dubious public school, I was sent to the university, to which I was admitted on the condition that I pass the December examinations, a few weeks off. The university was a quiet old place, with an enormous grove of oaks, and buildings somewhat in the Jeffersonian tradition. The paint was off in places here and there, but I think we learned as much as we might have done in some of the larger institutions farther north and much more prosperous, or perhaps slightly different things; at least we escaped the belief, just then beginning to be heard of, that mechanical surface and the outer powers of money are the prime things in living.

The point, however, is not this so much as that clearly I was not ready for college by a year or so, or rather that I had missed the benefits, literary and otherwise, of the concluding sessions of the preparatory school.

In the university I began, for my literary studies, a course in Chaucer and the English ballads, combined, alas, with essay writing, what is called composition—a fine waste that was!—and later on, in the due process of college years, I had Shakespeare and certain Elizabethans, readings in Milton and Spenser and historical studies in the poets, like Skelton, who preceded Spenser—these among the gravities of my senior career. At Columbia University, where the fourth anniversary of the pig's death found me installed, I continued along these same lines, the Romantic movement, plenty of Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats, Coleridge, a sadly muddled exercise in Middle English, drama from the Greeks on, and a course in the Renaissance of Lorenzo's epoch, plus great stretches of private reading on my own part.

Meanwhile the professors doubtless took for granted that I was solidly grounded in those minor masterpieces that must precede the great. I thought little of the matter. Indeed, it was only some years afterward that I completely realized what I had omitted. Only gradually, talking with properly educated people who had not had to suffer the chaos of the little Southern schools of that time and had not been jumped forward as I had, it dawned on me what I had escaped reading. What had happened was that I had missed, for instance, "Evangeline," which I have never yet read. I missed "The Lady of the Lake," "Marmion," "The Wreck of the Hesperus," "Hiawatha," and many another work judged necessary for the young. I still have never read them and never mean to. Nor am I at all sorry to have lacked them. I also missed "The Vision of Sir Launfal," "Thanatopsis," "Enoch Arden" and even "The Psalm of Life," though I had heard quotations from them, no doubt. But with these last the case is not so clear. Later on, in one connection or another, perhaps with regard to some important poem, perhaps in some stray book lying about, I read these and kindred pieces, and have studied further into such poets as Bryant and Longfellow. I remember looking into "Hiawatha" because of its well known use of the classic hexameter in English. But at the very start I thought

> This is the forest primeval, the murmuring pines and the hemlocks

(or whatever it is) was a poor substitute for

> vesper ubi aut hibernus agit de montibus imber

or almost any of Virgil anywhere, and read no more.

> Thy threats, thy forfeits, I defy,
> And give thee in thy teeth the lie!

I discovered in an elocutionary book, but was too discouraged to ascertain in which of the Scott epics the couplet was to be located. I found in this later time that Sir Launfal had caused an adolescent poem to be written by an ambassador and essayist; and I recall a handsome, semi-mechanical ode, by the same author, who also asked "Oh, what is so rare as a day in June?" "Thanatopsis" had a good marble dirge movement and tone a little more sepulchral than inspired, as I see it now; "Snowbound" had some beautiful passages, and all of "Enoch Arden" was of a middle class that had its summit in that last line, too good to be true:

> . . . The little porch
> Had seldom seen a costlier funeral.

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I cannot go on indefinitely with this egotism of private adventure, however, but must pass to the argument. Diverse people will take the case diversely. All I can say is that it used to be thought that a child should be exposed to every sort of childhood disease, mumps, measles, and so on, in order to get them over while he is young; that this theory is no longer held by the medical science; and that I feel the same way exactly about "The Wreck of the Hesperus," "Hiawatha" and the others, and take them as a form of literary measles which it was not necessary for me to have at all.

When I did come to read English poetry that first year in the University, it was Chaucer, with such huge delight as I can but hope would not have been the case with "Maud Muller" (now Mr. Henry Ford's declared favorite in poetry). As a child I had heard and read "Mother Goose," with its rhythms that are such solid bases for poetic form, and its brevities of theme reduced to patterns that the memory cannot shake off. "Mother Goose" and Chaucer. Why, then, should I have been subjected to

> Maud Muller on a summer's day
> Raked the meadow sweet with hay

even though it did end with the moral, "of all sad words of tongue or pen the saddest are these, 'it might have been' "?

The big arguments against me, no doubt, will be these four:

The development of a child's taste, beginning gradually. That may be a good argument; all I know is that only what is created, what is alive, can develop taste; the rest is not art at all. We may with this lesser stuff, perhaps, develop a taste for poetry reading later on; which may or may not imply reading good poetry; and which, moreover, may just as likely lead us to think, as many a strong man does, that poetry is something that belongs to childhood days only, as if it were not the most exact of all records of human experience. I am sure that every bad mechanical rhythm encountered is but one more way to spoil taste and block delicate and precise perception. And it is certain that, if it be true that a young reader does not perceive all that is put into a passage of Shakespeare, it is even truer that in a passage from "Hiawatha" he does not perceive all that is left out; which is a far more sterile course for him to follow.

For another argument: not having read these pieces cuts you off somewhat from a certain common standing with your fellows. The same is true of measles.

For a third argument: you should know literature, historically, et cetera. Which is quite true if you mean to be really educated in this field. But the answer is that later on you can skim such writings, dip into them, and find the quality in a very brief reading indeed. Anyone versed in good art has a hundred ways of sensing the promise of any new acquaintance in it. The ear, as much as anything else, will quickly place your author for you.

And, finally, we must encounter great remembrances, stubborn or tender defenses of the rosemary of these pieces, carried long after they are but faintly recollected. One answer to this is merely to make the defender admit that he has not seen one of them for twenty or thirty years; the handsome phrases about the Lady of the Lake's nobility, for example, are in the nature of sonorous dreams. Or perhaps such defenders would not choose to be without having read these pieces, exactly as none of us, however different traits and fortunes he may wish for himself, would ever wish to be any other person than himself.

Thanks to the martyred pig, I associate poetry with high sound, profound feeling, thought and sensuousness, an inexhaustible vitality in rhythm such as life has, with brilliance, poignancy, surprise and distinction. And so far nothing convinces me of any need for an early dosage with these fifth-rate pieces, more difficult really because less exciting and infinite than good poetry—what, for example, is

> And departing leave behind us
> Footprints on the sands of time

compared to

> If thou didst ever hold me in thine heart
> Absent thee from felicity awhile . . . ?

or

> Life is real, life is earnest

to

> . . . o lasso,
> quanti dolce pensier, quanto disío
> menó costoro al doloroso passo! ?

In the Pineta who would not want to remember what Byron wrote?

> . . . in the solitude
> Of the pine forest, and the silent shore
> Which bounds Ravenna's immemorial wood,
> Rooted where once the Adrian wave flowed o'er,
> To where the last Caesarean fortress stood. . . .

At other times how dear is ignorance! Only last summer I was going along the road one night, through the Acadian country that follows the Louisiana gulf-coast west. We passed a man and woman in an old carriage and asked our way, and a low, rich voice began to speak in some dialect of French, out of the heavy dusk. It was only next day that I remembered to be thankful that nothing in my past obliged me now to think of any poetical tosh, and so spoil the moment. At the time I had not even thought of being in the land of Evangeline. What I had thought of was that wide country in the heavy starlit dusk, the two figures that had passed us, the man's beautiful voice, too low to sound very distinct against the wind in the pines nearby, and the smell of grass, earth and water, pine and cypress.

STARK YOUNG.

During the summer months, while Congress is adjourned, T. R. B.'s Washington Notes will be published at short irregular intervals instead of every week.—THE EDITORS.

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A COMMUNICATION

The Situation in India

SIR: Mr. H. N. Brailsford's article, "MacDonald and Gandhi," published in your issue of May 14, 1930, calls for some comment. As perhaps you will not be able to find space for a long letter, I shall not be able to quote authority for all my statements. Mr. Brailsford also has simply given the reader his own *ipse dixit*. I am not as distinguished a journalist as he, but I can without vanity claim to possess much greater, more accurate and more intimate knowledge of India than he, being a native of the country and a publicist of forty years' standing.

Mr. Brailsford's first paragraph is unexceptionable. Mahatma Gandhi's influence is undoubtedly "the noblest and most influential personal force in the world," and his lieutenants and followers are "perhaps the finest citizens that India has bred." It is only necessary to say that their rebellion is not merely "symbolical"; it is a real rebellion, minus bloodshed. And millions upon millions of Indians who are not actually in the "fight" share their aspirations and feeling.

But when Mr. Brailsford says the Labor government "has done nothing yet to earn the frowns of liberals in other lands," he is absolutely in the wrong. Under the Labor government the most severe and inhuman repression since the days of the Sepoy rebellion of 1857 has been going on. Cruel oppression by the police and the military has in many places taken most brutal, indecent and revolting forms. The oppressors have not in many places spared either women or children.

There cannot be a more misleading statement than to say that "the police showed astonishing self-control." A few policemen in a few places may have shown some self-control, but you have to search for them with Diogenes' lantern. Ostensibly policemen and soldiers have been told to maintain law and order, but they have been responsible for the violation of ethical and statute laws and for disorder to a far greater extent and degree than any other class of men. The men and women who have really shown marvelous self-control and courage under the most provoking and frightful circumstances are the followers of Gandhi.

In jails the government has been "a courteous host" to a few outstanding persons like Mr. Gandhi and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, but not to others. Owing to ill treatment of political prisoners, hunger strikes have been numerous. And even as regards Mahatma Gandhi, though he is supplied with the few material comforts he requires, he has been kept in solitary confinement—a punishment inflicted on hardened criminals.

Mr. Brailsford tries to make out that the Indian National Congress in its vote for independence expresses the opinion of only a minority. Let it be so. This minority is, however, the best organized, the most public-spirited, the most openly courageous and rebellious, the readiest to lose all (including life itself) and suffer all for liberty, and the most influential, respected and admired group in India. In the American War of Independence and other similar wars, the insurgents did not form a majority of the total population of the countries concerned.

Let that pass, however. Mr. Brailsford admits that "all call for an advance to self-government." And that advance is to "Dominion status," like that of Canada. And Mahatma Gandhi also wants "the substance of independence," not necessarily the name. Will the Labor government give this "Dominion status," this "substance of independence?"

Mr. Brailsford says: "Outside this Congress are the Moslems (one-third of the whole population), the people of the native states (one-fourth), the influential Liberal party, the organized, depressed castes, and, in some sense, the Sikhs." I will take these groups one by one.

The total population of India is 316,128,721. The Moslems number 68,735,233. They are therefore *less than one-fourth*. In British-ruled India, also, they are less than one-fourth. The Moslems are not all outside the Congress. Some of the most distinguished leaders of the Civil Disobedience movement are Moslems and have gone to jail. In Bombay, the pro-Congress Moslem party preponderates. In the northwest frontier province, inhabited mostly by Pathan Moslems, Congress views have a most conspicuous following. In Bengal, which contains more Moslems than any other province, the latest Moslem conference held at Mymensingh has passed a resolution urging the Mohammedans of the district "to throw themselves heart and soul into the freedom movement." In every province, the Congress has a Moslem following. And to crown all, the All-India Jamiat-ul-Ulema (Society of Moslem Theologians) has urged all Mussulmans to join the civil-disobedience movement. It is well known that the Moslems are more led by their theologians than any other religious community.

The people of the native states are formally neither in nor outside of the Congress; they do not send delegates to it. But they are at heart with the Congress, though their rulers are mostly anti-National.

The Liberal party is by no means "influential." Mr. C. F. Andrews wrote in The New Republic of February 26: " . . . their exhortation carries very little weight outside the quiet circle of a few like-minded individuals. It does not reach the masses. There is no corporate public opinion behind it."

The depressed castes are *not* "organized," and many men and women of those castes are "fighting" in the ranks of Gandhi's followers.

I was surprised to read that the Sikhs are, "in a sense," outside the Congress. In what sense? Large numbers of Sikhs are with the Congress, and many influential men among them have gone to jail.

I entirely agree that in the present state of the world, India requires an army. The country possesses splendid fighting material. If the officers are mostly British, that is not because India does not produce, in abundance, the type of men required, but the British government has deliberately prevented the Indianization of the army staff of officers. As for the civil service, India can at any moment man the whole of it with quite competent officials. Our religions have been far more tolerant of each other (*except during the British period*) than have the Roman Catholics and Protestants in Christendom—our people have never burned one another at the stake. I am sorry space prevents me from quoting well known British authorities in support of my statement. But allow me to add that

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Hindu-Moslem dissensions will never cease so long as British domination lasts.

Before British rule, though there was no facility for acquiring modern knowledge, literacy was far more widespread than now, and the British government has deliberately kept the mass of the people illiterate and ignorant. Japan, the Philippines and Soviet Russia have made far greater progress in literacy in a far shorter period than has British-ruled India. So, "if the mass of India's population" has not "passed through the common school," that is not our fault. It will take centuries for India to become literate under British domination.

Mr. Brailsford has, owing to his ignorance, magnified the Chittagong raid. It was a small, local, isolated affair, though it may be an omen.

My letter has already become longer than I intended it to be. So I shall conclude by observing that if, as Mr. Brailsford suggests, "for a period certain services, chiefly police and defense, must remain under British control," during that period India will not be self-ruling, and Indians will not be "rapidly" trained during that period. Self-rule will be worse than open autocracy if Britishers in power continue to enjoy unchecked authority to make their police and military break the heads of and shoot down our people with impunity.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE,
Editor, The Modern Review.

Calcutta, India.

CORRESPONDENCE

In Memory of the Massachusetts Victims

SIR: The Sacco-Vanzetti National League will hold a memorial meeting on the third anniversary of the death of the two men, at 8:30 on Friday evening, August 22, at Town Hall, 123 West Forty-third Street, New York City.

Heywood Broun, a distinguished journalist who came out courageously for Sacco and Vanzetti when many others were sidestepping, W. E. B. DuBois, editor of The Crisis, Henry T. Hunt, former mayor of Cincinnati and chairman of the National Mooney-Billings Committee, will speak. A film of the funeral procession will be shown for the first time. Robert Morss Lovett, chairman of the Sacco-Vanzetti National League, will preside.

This is an open meeting, and all who wish to honor the memory of the "good shoemaker and the poor fish peddler" are invited to attend.

MARGARET STEER HUNTLEY,
Secretary.

104 Fifth Ave.,
New York City.

SIR: On Friday, August 22, at 8:30 P. M., there will be a Sacco-Vanzetti memorial meeting at the Old South Meeting House, Boston. The date is the third anniversary of the execution of the "good shoemaker and the poor fish peddler." The speakers will be:

Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York City; Edna St. Vincent Millay, who will include in the reading of her poems on the case a new and unpublished sonnet inspired by Vanzetti's letters; Leonard Abbott of "The Encyclopedia of Social Sciences" staff; Alice Stone Blackwell of Boston, to whom Vanzetti wrote many of his most thoughtful letters while in prison; Paul U. Kellogg, editor of The Survey, who will be chairman, and Gardner Jackson of the Sacco-Vanzetti Defense Committee. . . .

No doubt can exist that the state of mind underlying the killing of the two "anarchistic bastards" persists strongly in America. The shocking Mooney-Billings imprisonment is evidence enough of that without the many other examples of less noted kind.

The meeting has an added significance this year because, finding expression within the walls of a building made historically sacred during the American Revolution, it comes in the midst of the Tercentenary celebration of the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. There are striking parallels traceable from the time of Increase Mather's investigation of the witchcraft executions in 1692, while president of Harvard College, to the time of President Lowell's report in the Sacco-Vanzetti case. We invite all persons interested in the course of American justice to attend.

The Memorial Committee arranging the meeting consists of Dr. Alice Hamilton, Professor Samuel Eliot Morison, Mrs. Gertrude L. Winslow, Catharine S. Huntington, Creighton J. Hill, Reuben L. Lurie, Aldino Felicani and myself.

GARDNER JACKSON.

Boston, Mass.

Our Sadistic Police

SIR: Who is responsible for the criminal brutality of certain police of New York City?

Shortly after seven o'clock on August 1, I crossed Union Square in company with two gentlemen who were not at all interested in the Red demonstration that had just concluded at the north end of the Square, but were accompanying me on a business errand. Endeavoring to avoid the crowd, we stepped into a store and through the window saw several dozen police driving the peaceful and inoffensive spectators like cattle. Before our eyes one poor fellow who stopped to look back was struck from the rear by a policeman's night club, felled to the ground, surrounded by five or six policemen and then, prostrate and defenseless, was viciously kicked in the abdomen by one of the officers of the law and struck by others.

Within fifteen feet of where we were watching this criminally callous assault by the guardians of the peace, another policeman struck a fleeing girl with his night stick, knocking her to the street, where she lay in agony with the blood oozing from her mouth until she was carried into a neighboring drug store for medical attention.

In neither of the above cases was there the slightest provocation or excuse for such sadistic brutality. The policemen concerned were in no way threatened by those they assaulted. On the contrary, the victims were endeavoring to get out of their way. It was not a case of "one man against the mob," for the assaults were perpetrated by a group of policemen none of whom offered the slightest remonstrance against this criminally barbaric conduct.

The two gentlemen with me were both educated in the best universities of Europe and America, one of them the son of a high diplomatic official of one of the great powers. They both declared that in all their lives among the despotic governments of Europe they had never witnessed a more vicious and wanton attack by so-called officers of the law than that of August 1. . . .

If Mr. Hamilton Fish and his committee be really desirous of learning something worth while about the causes for radicalism in this country, let them begin by a thoroughgoing investigation of the New York City police force, for many more Communists were made through the atrocities perpetrated by the New York police August 1, than were converted by all "red" orators in the preceding demonstration.

Possibly Mayor Walker in his next radio address will kindly explain who is responsible for such criminal misconduct by the "officers of the law" of New York City.

ALBERT F. COYLE,
Director, American University in Europe.

New York City.

Mr. Buell and the Brookings Institution

SIR: As a member of the Brookings Institution, I ask your indulgence for a few words in regard to the recent review by Mr. Raymond L. Buell of the report on Porto Rico, published

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under the auspices of the Institution. Since I had no personal share in the report I may speak with more freedom than those who prepared it might permit themselves. Mr. Buell was quite within the rights of a reviewer in discussing the book and its contents in a most unfavorable tone, if this tone expressed, as it undoubtedly did, his honest opinion. He was entirely outside the bounds of propriety and ordinary decency, however, in allowing himself to bring such an insinuation against an organization noted for its independent devotion to the public good, and against scholars whose ability is generally recognized—even though they may form conclusions differing from those of Mr. Buell—and whose personal integrity and mental honesty are unquestionable. Mr. Buell wrote as follows: "Both of these measures [tariff autonomy and agrarian reform] would seriously injure vested American interests; whether or not because of this reason, they are not even adequately discussed." Nobody who knows the work of the Brookings Institution can possibly suppose that its opinions are dictated by vested interests. I must, therefore, conclude that Mr. Buell does not know it; but his ignorance is hardly an excuse for wanton insult.

Mr. Buell concludes his review with the following words: "This report should be a warning to those who pin their hopes for salvation upon research—especially coöperative research—in the social sciences. Such research will serve a high purpose only when it is carried on by men capable of unified thought and motivated by a thoroughgoing social philosophy." The extraordinary confusion of thought displayed in these sentences should be a warning to those who suppose that the world can be saved by good intentions. Apparently Mr. Buell means that since research, especially coöperative research, may lead to reasoned conclusions different from those which make the most immediate appeal to the emotions, it is a dangerous instrument. He seems to imply a desire to make research a collecting of arguments in support of conclusions already agreed upon. This point of view the Brookings Institution wholly rejects. As for a "thoroughgoing social philosophy," we have one, though not Mr. Buell's. We believe that the advantage of coöperative research lies in the meeting of many minds not capable of unified thought, and hence, quite sure to examine materials from many different approaches; we believe that the complex problems of contemporary economic and political and social life should be discussed completely and scientifically, and that the answers to them should be based on data rather than on desire; we believe that no social order is possible, no controlled society operable, unless judgment and knowledge inform good will.

MIRIAM E. OATMAN.

Washington, D. C.

SIR: The only "insinuation" in the review under discussion was that the Brookings report on Porto Rico was more friendly to the interests of American sugar growers than to the aspirations of the people of Porto Rico. I am unable to see how the statement of this opinion in any way exceeds the bounds of "decency." The main criticism I made of the Brookings report was that it failed to grapple with the fundamental difficulties of Porto Rico or with the fundamental remedies, and that consequently it was neither complete nor scientific. I see nothing in Miss Oatman's letter which proves that this criticism is unsound. Finally, a philosophy is not, as she seems to believe, composed of emotion; on the contrary, it should be composed of hard thought.

RAYMOND L. BUELL.

Tegucigalpa, Honduras.

The Flathead Water-Power Lease

SIR: The New Republic is so generally discerning in matters affecting public utilities, that your editorial of June 11, "Flathead—a Power Yardstick," creates a bewilderment.

You extol that particular feature of the license granted by the Federal Power Commission to the Rocky Mountain Power Company which to some will appear as being the most indefensible. The subject is more important than all the issues directly involved in this Flathead case, important as these direct issues are, because if the Flathead license be a precedent, then a great retrogression in federal control over water-power matters will have taken place. This statement holds good whether or not the amendments of the federal Water Power Act, pending in Congress, be adopted.

The Flathead license as issued accomplishes, through the clause whose effects you extol, a practical if not technical subversion of the Power Act, and its results are exclusively adverse to regulation. It permanently (for fifty years) frustrates a regulation which the statute, if not defeated by the terms of the license, would have made practicable and mandatory. It is chiefly Article 36 of the license which accomplishes this defeat of public regulation, and it is the substance of Article 36 which has obtained your endorsement.

Any person reading the license in the light of the power act, and knowing—or even not knowing—the relation between the dummy licensee (Rocky Mountain Power Company) and the dummy's owner (Montana Power Company) will be able to judge the facts. These facts are:

(1) A license obtaining a power site under the federal act stipulates to the government a control over that licensee's operations in numerous particulars. In the case of a licensee in Montana, under the peculiar state of law in Montana, the licensee stipulates, as this Flathead license affirms, a government control over all accounting and financing operations, stock issues, etc., and even—if the theory incorporated in this Flathead license be borne out—a government control over the sales price to be derived from energy generated at the licensed site.

(2) But the government's control in any and all particulars is limited to the operations of the licensee. The control does not reach beyond the licensee in any matter.

(3) If the Montana Power Company (the Montana branch of the "power trust") had been required to accept the license in its own name, then federal regulation would have extended to the financing and accounting operations of that company as a whole. In addition, by the theory which has been embodied in this Flathead license, federal regulation would have extended to the sales price to be derived by the Montana Power Company from all power generated at the Flathead site—or one-fifth of the total wholesale and retail sales of that company.

(4) It was because of the foregoing facts, commonplace of the federal Power Act, that the Montana Power Company, years ago, put forward its scheme that the license should be taken out by a dummy which it, the owner, would finance, officer and control, and which would sell exclusively to itself the cheap power to be generated at the licensed site. Federal regulation of the dummy's accounting, the dummy's stock issues in kind and quantity, even the dummy's sales price, would be innocuous. Federal regulation would terminate with the dummy. The owner's monopoly contract with the dummy could be capitalized *ad libitum*. The power bought cheaply by the owner from the dummy could be sold at the prevailing rates derived by the Montana Power Company—rates notoriously excessive. And the rate discriminations in favor of the Anaconda Copper Company, affiliated with the Montana Power Company, by which every Montana consumer is forced to subsidize the Anaconda Company through rates, could be maintained regardless of the prohibition of such discriminations which is laid down in the federal Power Act, for this act applies solely to the licensee.

The motive was always clear. The record hearings before the Federal Power Commission revealed the facts and the motive. The facts and the motive were fully exhibited at the Senate Indian committee hearings. The disadvantage of this dummy proposal to the Montana consumers and to public regulation was at all times clear and, as stated, the dummy device, put forward by the Montana Power Company, is years old.

(5) It is this dummy device and its consequences which the Interior Department and Federal Power Commission have accepted, surrendering to the demand of the Montana Power Company and of the Electric Bond and Share Company. They incorporated the dummy device in the license. They licensed the dummy, and thus voided the federal Power Act with respect to the real party to this whole transaction—the Montana Power Company.

(6) Then was launched the audacious official propaganda. Sur-

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render was proclaimed as victory. That which John D. Ryan had solicited was proclaimed as that which had been wrung from the power trust by officials devoted to public regulation. Let us see what was wrung from the power trust.

Your editorial first states that the accounting and financing operations of the Rocky Mountain Power Company (the dummy) will be absolutely controlled. So they will be. And to exactly the same extent, and by exactly the same procedures, the accounting and financing operations of the Montana Power Company (the owner) would have been controlled if the license had been issued to the Montana Power Company. A yardstick of production cost will be created, you state; the dummy's true production cost, in terms of a federally controlled capital investment, will be made known. So it will be. And so it would have been if the owner, not the dummy, had been required to take the license. Segregated accounting for federally licensed projects is mandatory under the Power Act, and every item of control over the dummy under this faithless license would have been equally mandatory with respect to the segregated operations of the Flathead project if the owner had been made the licensee. The above results would have been equally sure by dummy-licensing or owner-licensing; while by owner-licensing, the vastly more important additional results, already stated in this letter, would have been sure.

Next, your editorial states that a low sales price by the dummy to the dummy's owner is established by the license. You neglect to state that the license (contravening Section 10, Paragraph *h* of the federal Power Act) requires that this low sales price shall be exclusively a sale to the power trust—to the Montana Power Company. No other customer, not even an independent industry or a municipality, is to be permitted, by this strange Article 36 of the license, to buy one horsepower of the Flathead energy, or to take advantage of one penny of the reduced sales price. I disregard the sale of 15,000 horsepower at a low rate to the irrigation district, part of the consideration paid by the company for the license. All other power is required to be sold to the Montana Power Company, and all users of the Flathead power must buy at the Montana Power Company's inflated resale price.

If, finally, the scheme of price-fixing by contract, embodied in this license, is valid at all, it is equally valid for any licensee whatever, and hence would have been valid for the Montana Power Company as licensee. And if applied to the Montana Power Company, the real party in the Flathead transaction and the agency which sells to the public, then this price-fixing scheme would have been of greatest benefit to the consumers of Montana. The benefit is wholly destroyed through licensing the dummy.

In sum, the license as issued has a series of effects, premeditated by the Montana Power Company and necessarily known in advance to Secretary Wilbur, Commissioner Scattergood and Secretary Bonner, the government officials who are responsible. It establishes price-fixing by the government through a contract going beyond the act of Congress. It fixes a low price. It prohibits from taking advantage of the low price all parties without exception save only the power trust, owner of the dummy licensee. It truncates with the dummy—a dummy thus monopolistically bound to the power trust—all authority and all responsibility of the United States over accounting, over the character or amount of securities, over rates, over anything whatsoever. It immunizes the Montana Power Company from federal oversight, in so far as any matters of the Flathead power site are concerned, for the next fifty years, for not Congress itself can disturb the vested rights to immunity which has been granted by this dummy scheme.

And in return, the license gains for the public or for regulation not one compensation, not one convenience, even, that is not ensured by the federal Power Act with respect to whatever licensee, be he a dummy or the real party.

In brief, the license achieves, by what essentially is a "joker," the object of John D. Ryan and of the Montana Power Company. That which it achieves is more than a blunder. It is a crime against public regulation, and a betrayal of the federal Water Power Act. How is it possible for a nullification of a beneficent federal power and a destruction of public regulation to be hailed as a shining accomplishment?

I say nothing here about the Indian interest. That interest has suffered through the Flathead transaction, but when compared to the public loss and to the subversion of the federal Power Act, it is, under all the circumstances, of secondary moment.

JOHN COLLIER,
Secretary, American Indian
Defense Association, Inc.

Mill Valley, Calif.

[The Rocky Mountain Power Company, to which the Flathead lease was awarded, is a subsidiary which will operate only this property and sell the current to the owning company. The parent Montana Power Company, to which Mr. Collier thinks the lease should have been awarded, has other sources of energy besides the Flathead site, and over these the federal government has no regulatory power. The Montana Company distributes current to the consumers. Mr. Collier is correct in saying that in regulating the price charged for current by the subsidiary to the parent company, the federal Power Commission exerts no direct control over the price charged by the parent company to the consumer. Our editorial stated this fact, pointing out that the advantages of the arrangement could be realized by Montana consumers only if the state commission were active in proper regulation of consumers' rates.

Mr. Collier is mistaken, however, in assuming that if the license had been awarded to the parent company, the federal Commission could successfully have regulated the rates charged consumers. Under the law, the federal Commission can regulate rates only when there is no state regulatory body. Consumers' rates could therefore have been controlled by the federal government only if the lessor were willing to make a contract granting this right, and it is scarcely conceivable that such jurisdiction over its entire accounting and rate structure would be conceded by a lessor in exchange for a license for a particular site, unless this site were of overwhelming importance to it. Even if such a contract could have been made, there would have been very great practical difficulties in executing it, owing to the necessity of making complicated allocations of overhead and intangibles, holding-company fees, and the like.

Mr. Collier also objects because the contract between the subsidiary and the parent companies, according to which the price of the Flathead power is to be reckoned, and which was specified as part of the leasing arrangement, binds the subsidiary to sell all its power to the parent company. But this contract is the only means of fixing the price. If it had not covered all the Flathead power, there would have been a residue which might have been sold at a price determined according to less sound principles. The possibilities of rigging such an arrangement in the interest of undeserved profit are obvious.

The lease is an actual advance over the previous practice of the Power Commission. It provides a firm footing for federal regulation of generating costs, for their accurate determination, and for the sale of the resulting power, at a reasonable and known price, to the distributing company. It represents a surrender to the private power interests only in so far as the distributing company is able, in the face of this situation, to escape adequate state regulation. Surrender, however, is hardly an apt word, because the federal Power Commission could not have done more in the direction of practicable regulation.—THE EDITORS.]

A Voice for England

SIR: As a subscriber to The New Republic I appreciate the spirit of intelligent liberalism usually to be found in your correspondence columns. But I have read of late a number of letters on the Indian situation so completely influenced by anti-British propaganda that I feel your readers should be reminded that, strange as it may seem, England does have a case. Let me say at the outset that I have never been to India, neither have I any knowledge of the situation not available to other people.

Several of your correspondents plead for Indian independence with that peculiarly American brand of misty sentimentality that takes no account of factors likely to turn their earthly paradise into the holocaust of a second China, if it is realized other than by the

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process of evolution. I suppose none of us would want to toss a baby out of a cradle and expect it to run. That is why India is not yet a self-governing dominion in the British Empire, much less independent. But practice in the art of self-government is being given the natives at a far greater pace than casual critics seem to realize.

Their criticisms of the Simon report are so half-baked that I wonder if any of them have ever troubled to read anything other than the interpretations of Indian extremists. It is amazing to see them leaping blithely in where statesmen fear to tread. If the recommendations of the Simon report are put into practice—and there is every reason to believe they will be over-reached—Indians will be in complete control of many of the national administrative services.

England cannot grant self-government to India at this stage simply because India is not ready for it. And, what is more, India, *as a whole,* is not asking for it. Gandhi represents a small fraction of the masses, and he has yet to give us any reasonable assurance that the 50,000,000 "Untouchables" would not be massacred to a man if he gets what he is striving for. Perhaps some of your correspondents might tell us how they would settle this problem in their scheme of things; also what would be their reactions to the bloody strife between Hindu and Moslem that would rage if England were suddenly to let go.

England has had enough opprobrium heaped upon her in the midst of the most perplexing problem of government that has ever confronted a great power. But if she abandoned her task now she would earn—and merit—the condemnation of the civilized world for shameless moral cowardice. India, in her present state of development, would degenerate into a second China, with the responsibility for the slaughter and famine laid directly at England's door.

The economic development of India is the direct result of peace under English government. In fact, the tremendous development of India's internal resources is proving a serious handicap to England's export trade. Strange that these English monsters tolerate this! And may we not remember that thanks to her system of irrigation and waterworks, India is saved forever from the time-old scourge of widespread famines. British money did this and, naturally enough, England wants to protect her investments. This reasoning above all should appeal to Americans. . . .

STANLEY RAYFIELD

Washington, D. C.

A Word for the Chain Stores

SIR: Referring to the article "The Chains of Chain Stores," appearing in your issue of July 23, I, as an observer of general business methods, take exception to such a sweeping conclusion "that the worst offenders against the white-collared drudge are to be found among the chain-store organizations," when the reason given is inadequately stated by the author as follows: "Why this should be I leave to mind-readers and astrologists." A haphazard guess is proffered in the following sentences: "Perhaps it is because of the thin margin of profit upon which these stores claim to operate, or it may be the fierce competition they meet, or even the fact that the founders of several of them have risen from lowly beginnings, and have not yet been able to shake off their early habits of frugality." The author makes no mention of the inherent advantages of the chain stores: their savings resulting from quantity buying, quantity advertising, central administrative overhead which reduces the operating costs of the individual units, ability to purchase efficient organizers. These inherent advantages make it possible for the chain store to undersell a locally owned store without imposing harsher regulations or lower salaries. Glance at the individually owned store or department store and you will find every allegation brought against the chain store equally applicable as to job application and clock-punching tactics.

The writer also says that he "has never met one of these drudges daring enough to grow a beard . . . Daily shaving is another of the rituals required of every male employee." A Literary Digest poll might be able to determine whether the white-collared man shaves daily as a matter of comfort and habit or in fear of the chain-store spy.

A glaring example of gross omission of facts is when Mr. Woods asks a reader to condemn the chain store unheard: "It is an ironic fact that at least two male employees have been said to have left the firm's employ to enter the comparative tranquility of an insane asylum." I would like to know these two men's case histories. Then, granting that there were no contributing causes outside the chains, I would like to know how this percentage of insanity compares with that found in other fields employing the white-collared drudge.

One most important fact is overlooked by this mind-reading, astrologist author, namely, that if he glances around at the army, navy, hotels, offices, individually owned stores, etc., he will find a sad but true fact: our society is composed of a majority who enjoy a commonplace, well regulated, bourgeois existence. Mr. Woods forgets the haven his chain store affords to them. Mr. Woods should clap his hands at his discovery of the periodical examination given in chain stores where "those having poor marks are placed in line for dismissal regardless of the actual performance of their duties," for surely in time the capricious inefficient will childishly destroy itself.

May I suggest to Mr. Woods a serious fact-finding study of a peculiar hazard of the chain store: its interference with the industrial life of the community into which it enters? Studies based on facts are stimulating; conclusions based on prejudice call for protest.

ELINOR J. DESENBERG.

New York City.

Too Much Freedom in the New Schools?

SIR: Miss Naumburg, formerly of the Walden school, says in your issue of June 25: "The crux of education lies in the balance of individual and group values. For the immediate future the European educator will find that his problem is to adjust the individual to the values of group life; whereas for the American, the problem will be to avoid too great emphasis on group life, and develop an individualism that is socially responsive." Wherever new progressive schools spring up, as they do all over the country, children are sent there because they are socially unadjusted in other schools. And in the established progressive schools the child's maladjustment is treated only through his native ability, on the assumption that doing one thing well will integrate the whole personality. This assumption is daily disproved, but still exists among progressives.

There is no education without interest, therefore study a child's native ability, and let him rip! That is the practice of progressive schools, and it is producing maladjusted children while claiming to follow the laws of mental hygiene. Progressive teachers, like Miss Zachry, writing on the social adjustments of school children, find a poet in Lincoln School socially maladjusted, send him to an old-fashioned boys' camp, point out his cure with pride and ignore the old-fashioned methods which cured the boy they could not handle! All this because progressive education says it is a sin to prevent a poet from poetizing, while old-fashioned camps say: "You cannot use your books here; go out and get your romance around the camp fire, and learn to be like everybody else."

Progressive teachers report that one pupil gets so much satisfaction out of dramatics that he is bored with shop; another gets so much satisfaction out of rhythmics that he is bored with arithmetic; another likes to study and will not play, another likes to play and will not study. But one must never impose distasteful subjects upon children, so send them away to a regular camp, and when they come home normal, the credit goes to those who diagnosed the need (not to those who cured it).

Instead of emphasizing a child's native ability, progressives should apply the project method to a child's native disability. Our dreamers remain visionaries, our doers remain blind, because we have not seen the importance of interesting each in his own weakest point.

ALIDA CHANLER BOHN.

Maplewood, N. J.

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The Social Sciences

Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Volume I, edited by Edwin R. A. Seligman and Alvin Johnson. New York: The Macmillan Company. 646 pages. $7.50.

THERE are at least two reasons why publication of an encyclopedia of the social sciences ought to be an event of some importance in the long run of history. It is a commonplace that the physical sciences, with their derived technology, have given us a vast and intricate equipment of things which will rule us unless we apply social control to them. If as trustworthy and extensive a body of knowledge can be provided concerning man and society, we may invent social techniques with which to govern the physical instruments we have erected. The second reason is of less general application, but of equal weight. It is also a commonplace that we can no longer think of the various intellectual disciplines, least of all the social sciences, as arbitrarily bounded provinces of subject matter, in each of which a group of specialists can bury themselves, ignorant of what other scientists have learned. The field is one; methods and approaches may differ, but the historian, the geographer, the political scientist, the psychologist, the economist, the anthropologist and the sociologist each needs the aid of the other at crucial junctures, if his work is to go on. An encyclopedia may furnish one instrument of such coöperation.

The fact that this year for the first time the social-science societies (which sponsor this work) are to have their annual meetings with those devoted to the older and more reliable physical sciences, is perhaps an indication that the untried youngsters are showing signs of maturity. Many would still deny that they are entitled to the hallowed title of science; but, on the other hand, the established sciences are becoming less sure of themselves than ever they were. People are beginning to suspect that there are other possible ways of knowing things than by use of the stern logic of Newtonian physics. Or, rather, that even this type of knowledge is less superior to other types than had been suspected.

The first volume of the new encyclopedia has a special bearing on the above expectations, since 349 of its 646 pages are devoted, not to alphabetical articles, but to essays on the history and present status of social thought. Beginning with the Greek and Roman civilizations, the authors track their quarry through medieval church domination, the growth of autonomy, the Renaissance and Reformation, the rise of liberalism, the revolutions, the triumph of capitalism and individualism, the growth of nationalism, the trend toward internationalism, the War and the subsequent reorientation. Then, with a shift of approach, there follow chapters on the development of the various social disciplines in the more important countries. The list of authors of these monographs includes names like Westermann, Laski, Beard, MacIver.

A naïve reader, used to popularizations of natural science, might be considerably puzzled by this historical and critical material. He would probably expect the story of a logical development and expansion. In his former excursions into scientific literature, he would have learned that on such and such a date a crucial experiment led to the establishment of such and such a law; that at another time a certain hypothesis had to be modified as the result of a new observation or deduction. He would have built up in his mind the picture of an integrated system or structure of verifiable knowledge, put together piece by piece through investigation of a fixed external world. This knowledge would have been as true in 1600 or in China as in 1930 or in the United States. It would be superior to time and place, to emotion and circumstance.

The present writers rest their observations on a quite different set of assumptions. Centuries and even decades ago, the social scientists assumed that it would be as easy for them to deduce universal laws and build enduring systems as it was for the physicists and chemists. But the laws so announced and the systems so built have a curious diversity. Reason worked nobly, but it arrived at strangely varied results. Hobbes, assuming the inherent stupidity and baseness of mankind, found that the good of all demanded an automatic regime. Locke, assuming the innate reasonableness of humanity, accounted for organized society on the basis of the "social contract," and deduced a doctrine of individual freedom. Montesquieu argued that each people developed a system of government appropriate to its own character and necessities; why these characters and necessities differed he failed to discover. The classical economists, positing certain innate dispositions in man, created a justification for *laissez faire;* the very same assumptions, interpreted in the light of different observations, led, in the case of Marx, to the class struggle and socialism—an extreme of centralization—and in the case of Bakunin, to anarchism—an extreme of freedom. And so on, to hundreds of oppositions and variations. In inquiring for truth, the modern social scientists would seem to be echoing, not the assurance of Newton, but rather the cry of Pilate.

Montesquieu, indeed, seems to have furnished most of them with the germ of the needed rationale. There is, it is now believed, some sort of interdependence between currents of change or habit and the systems of thought which have been advanced to explain man and society. Social theories have been relative to the time and the situation. Just what is the nature of the interdependence, however, still escapes rigorous analysis. Did, as one school argues, the rise of Protestantism prepare the way for the growth of capitalism, and did Rousseau and the encyclopedists create the French Revolution? Or did capitalism arise from changing material circumstances, and the French Revolution from an unconscious trend of events, while Protestantism and Rousseau were mere handmaids of rationalization? At any rate, the historic body of social theory is clearly not science in the universal and absolute sense.

The recent tendency has been to try to find a way to make it more nearly "scientific." Dubious generalizations and unproved premises are ignored. We merely observe more closely and analyze more carefully what actually happens. We return to induction with a vengeance, though even here we are careful not to induce too broad a conclusion, lest someone make from it an unwarranted deduction. The nature of man we attempt to discover, if at all, from meticulous studies of primitive societies, from experimental psychology, from close examination of a Middletown, from statistical series which reveal facts about births, deaths, marriages, stock prices, steel production, unemployment. After a plethora of generalization, all this is a useful purgative of objectivity. The social sciences have withdrawn to a plane of plodding humanity, which appears to involve a good deal of rather insignificant grubbing and a minimum of presently significant results.

But doubts are beginning to flash through minds here and there concerning the sufficiency of this method. "Facts"

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are never as objective as they seem. What they mean always depends on the relationship in which they appear, on the theory by which they are attacked. What determines the choice of the set of facts sought after? How long after they are discovered will they remain facts, in so rapidly changing a civilization? Is it not essential, in social science as well as in individual education, to learn by doing? May not a theory which helps effectuate an actual social experiment be as important scientifically as one which is based on the assumption of aloof impartiality in the observer and of a static externalism in truth? As a matter of fact, may not the very objective turn which the social sciences have recently taken be as truly a rationalization of the current of a time and a society as are the generalizations summarized by the social historians? Can we really expect to build upon it an enduring, reliable and reasonably complete system of knowledge?

It is clear that the fifteen volumes of which this is the first (and of which the second is soon to appear) will not form a compendium of completed discovery which can for years remain a standard of information. Revision ought to begin before the last volume is out. Scholarly and discreet though the contents will be, the encyclopedia will be of little service if it tends to freeze thought in its present state. But there is little danger that it will do so in the minds of intelligent readers. The lack of completion, the suggestion of new puzzles to be solved, spring from every page; indeed, this stimulus alone would justify the undertaking. And the significance of the whole is perhaps to be found in a renewed reaching for synthesis. Though the sober plodding of the post-war temper will not be lost, the tendency of social thought in the next period may well revert to encyclopedic modes.

GEORGE SOULE.

"Ash-Wednesday"

Ash-Wednesday, by T. S. Eliot. New York: The Fountain Press. 28 pages. $5.

THE THREE short and pious poems which T. S. Eliot has brought out as Christmas cards, since "The Hollow Men" announced the nadir of the phase of despair and desolation given such effective expression in "The Waste Land," seemed comparatively uninspired and mild —far below his earlier level. One felt that the humility of his new religious phase was having the effect of enfeebling his poetry. But his new poem, or group of poems, "Ash-Wednesday," which follows a scheme somewhat similar to that of "The Waste Land" and makes a sort of sequel to it, is a not unworthy successor.

The poet begins with the confession of the bankruptcy of his former hopes and ambitions:

> Because I do not hope to turn again
> Because I do not hope
> Because I do not hope to turn
> Desiring this man's gift and that man's scope
> I no longer strive to strive towards such things
> (Why should the agèd eagle stretch its wings?)
> Why should I mourn
> The vanished power of the usual reign? . . .
>
> Because these wings are no longer wings to fly
> But merely vans to beat the air
> The air which is now thoroughly small and dry
> Smaller and dryer than the will
> Teach us to care and not to care
> Teach us to sit still.
> Pray for us sinners now and at the hour of our death
> Pray for us now and at the hour of our death.

There follow passages in which the prayer is apparently being answered: the poet's humility and pious resignation are rewarded by a series of visions which first console, then lighten his heart. We find an imagery new for Eliot, a symbolism semi-ecclesiastical and not without a Pre-Raphaelite flavor: white leopards, a Lady gowned in white, junipers and yews, "The Rose" and "The Garden," and jewelled unicorns drawing a gilded hearse: these are varied by an interlude which returns to the imagery and mood of "The Waste Land":

> At the first turning of the second stair
> I turned and saw below
> The same shape twisted on the banister
> Under the vapor in the fetid air
> Struggling with the devil of the stairs who wears
> The deceitful face of hope and of despair. . . .

and a swirling, churning, anguished passage which suggests certain things of Gertrude Stein's:

> If the lost word is lost, if the spent word is spent
> If the unheard, unspoken
> Word is unspoken, unheard;
> Still is the unspoken word, the Word unheard,
> The Word without a word, the Word within
> The world and for the world;
> And the light shone in darkness and
> Against the Word the unstilled world still whirled
> About the center of the Silent Word. . . .

At last the themes of the first section recur: the impotent wings of the agèd eagle seem to revive, as,

> From the wide window towards the granite shore
> The white sails still fly seaward, seaward flying
> Unbroken wings.
> And the lost heart stiffens and rejoices
> In the lost lilac and the lost sea voices
> And the weak spirit quickens to rebel
> For the bent golden-rod and the lost sea smell
> Quickens to recover
> The cry of quail and the whirling plover
> And the blind eye creates
> The empty forms between the ivory gates
> And smell renews the salt savor of the sandy earth. . . .

The broken prayer, at once childlike and mystically subtle, with which the poem ends seems to imply that the poet has come closer to the strength and revelation he craves. Grace is about to descend.

> Blessed sister, holy mother, spirit of the fountain,
> spirit of the garden,
> Suffer us not to mock ourselves with falsehood
> Teach us to care and not to care
> Teach us to sit still
> Even among these rocks,
> Our peace in His will
> And even among these rocks
> Sister, mother
> And spirit of the river, spirit of the sea,
> Suffer me not to be separated
>
> And let my cry come unto Thee.

The literary and conventional imagery upon which "Ash-Wednesday" so largely relies and which is less vivid,

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because more artificial, than that of Eliot's earlier poems, seems to me a definite feature of inferiority: the "devil of the stairs" and the "shape twisted on the banister," which are in Eliot's familiar and unmistakable personal vein, somehow come off better than the jewelled unicorn, which incongruously suggests Yeats. And I am made a little tired by hearing Eliot, only in his early forties, present himself as an "agèd eagle" who asks why he should make the effort to stretch his wings. Yet "Ash-Wednesday," though less brilliant and intense than Eliot at his very best, is distinguished by most of the qualities which made his other poems remarkable: the exquisite phrasing in which we feel that every word is in its place and that there is not a word too much; the metrical mastery which catches so naturally, yet with so true a modulation, the faltering accounts of the supplicant, blending the cadences of the liturgy with those of perplexed brooding thought; and, above all, that "peculiar honesty" in "exhibiting the essential sickness or strength of the human soul" of which Eliot has written in connection with Blake and which, in his own case, even at the moment when his psychological plight seems most depressing and his ways of rescuing himself from it least sympathetic, still gives him a place among those upon whose words we reflect with most interest and whose tones we remember longest.

EDMUND WILSON.

Confused Violence

Enfants Terribles, by Jean Cocteau. Translated by Samuel Putnam. New York: Brewer and Warren, Inc. 176 pages. $2.50.

THE VIOLENCE of Cocteau's novel remains even in translation. But this violence rarely penetrates below the surface of the style into the characters and the story itself; it lies in the similes and metaphors, in the author's comments. Probably, Cocteau thought the subject of incest sufficiently powerful to sustain his style and the tortured postures of his characters. The subject, certainly, is capable of a good deal of weight and superstructure. Unfortunately the theme of incest is not dramatically evident until the last three chapters of Part II. What has gone before might, so far as the three chapters are concerned, have been omitted entirely. And thus, these chapters are either the novel or a coda.

Oddly enough, it is in the last portion of the work that Cocteau seems most sure of himself. The violent actions of the protagonists for the first time seem convincing; the metaphors are accurate and sure, and they appear now, not merely as decorative touches, but as projections of the theme itself and its implications. For these chapters the author might have saved figures, such as "like a beheaded man who might make a supreme effort to recover contact with the world, Paul parted his lips," and not have spent them, as in this instance, on the sleepy Paul's acceptance of a crab from his teasing sister.

Distortions, like the gestures of people in an old melodrama, undoubtedly have place in a novel of this sort. The intensity of the characters, of their every act, must somehow be conveyed. The strain and tightness appear, however, mostly in Cocteau's writing and not in the characters themselves. With Cocteau's comments and his statements of how the reader is to take the whole affair, it is almost as if the property man twirled the moustaches of the villain.

The contradictions riddling the novel keep it from being more than interesting. The account is hurried, not rapid. One feels that Cocteau knows a vast deal about the elaborately serious antics of children, their deceptions of themselves and others, the amazing meanings events take on in their minds; yet this knowledge never strikes one as having anything in particular to do with the actual characters of Paul and Elizabeth or Gerard. The knowledge is applied from the outside, like lights trained on stage figures to emphasize certain postures. The illusion of reality is never present; consequently the unreality childhood has for adults makes the story of the children only more lurid and sensational.

Again, there is the contradiction of economies: meanings are telescoped into one another when it would have been better to keep them diffused; and events are wasted when they might have been used to tighten up the story. The rich American Jew, who dies in an excellently contrived sentence, makes no contribution, scarcely even of contrast to the events, save to give Paul and Elizabeth wealth by his dying. On the other hand, the formless childhood relation between Paul and Dargelos, remarkably told by Cocteau, becomes later in the story the basis of Paul's attraction to Agathe. Not content with this piece of pedantic psychology, Cocteau hammers in the resemblance of Dargelos, not only to Agathe, but to all the faces that have anywhere attracted Paul, and thereby cheapens and falsifies the character of the boy to such an extent that the whole effect of the novel threatens to collapse. It is the false economy of coincidence.

In such an admirable translation of a difficult book, it is too bad the translator should have placed Elizabeth's eyes, at her most dramatic and transforming moment, above her forehead, by translating the word *au-dessus* into English as "under."

KENNETH WHITE.

The Great Spirit

The Sun God's Children, by James Willard Schultz and Jessie L. Donaldson. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 255 pages. $3.

American: The Life Story of a Great Indian, by Frank B. Linderman. New York: The John Day Company 313 pages. $3.50.

ABORIGINAL America had ceremonies somewhat analogous to the passion play of Oberammergau; they are still performed in tatters of their prehistoric grandeur. The Indians, like all primitive men, were close to the heart of the Great Mystery. They were in great awe of the Supreme Being, but playful demigods were everywhere to be humored and placated. History records no greater mixture of ignorance and intolerance than that of the missionaries and settlers who tried to suppress their ancient and dignified ceremonies in order to cram their heads with alien lore.

To explain these dying ceremonies is the primary object of James Willard Schultz, the author, with Jessie Louise Donaldson, of "The Sun God's Children." Mr. Schultz is unusually competent to write on Indian life. In the seventies he joined the Blackfeet, whose three tribes are the westernmost representatives of the great Algonquian stock. When first encountered by white men, they controlled a wider territory in Alberta and Montana than any other Indian group. Mr. Schultz lived with them; he went on buffalo hunts and on the warpath; he took part in their religious rites.

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Originally the Blackfeet had been forest dwellers, but from neighboring tribes they borrowed the worship of the sun. They still have ceremonies in which they annually repeat the rituals first given them, so they say, by the animals. The Blackfeet dwelling east of Calgary erect their Medicine Lodge in the latter part of June, the Pikuni, or Montana Blackfeet, from July 1 to 10, the Bloods from July 10 to 20, and the North Pikuni immediately afterwards. These ceremonies apparently will be perpetuated for many years to come, since they are now being encouraged by so many white visitors. To witness them and read about them in "The Sun God's Children" is to recapture the days when men lived in awe and wonder.

"American," Frank B. Linderman's biography of Plenty Coups, a Crow chief, is in many ways an even better picture of the Indian attitude toward life. The author is a good reporter, and without making it too obvious he shows what a loss to human dignity was involved in the suppression of the pagan creeds. Although he has associated with Indians for more than forty years, he shares at times the skepticism of D. H. Lawrence about whether the white man and the red man can understand each other. There seems to be a discrepancy of viewpoint. It is not a matter of pigmentation, but the difference between the primitive man in close contact with the Great Mystery and the civilized man who says that because we do not understand machinery, we must worship gadgets and efficiency processes in the making of gadgets.

In his eighty years, Chief Plenty Coups has compared the civilization of his people with that of the whites and has found that the old ways had their merits. He remarks of the whites:

> [They] said that we might have their religion, but when we tried to understand it, we found that there were too many kinds of religion among white men for us to understand and that scarcely any two white men agreed which was the right one to learn. This bothered us a good deal until we saw that the white man did not take his religion any more seriously than he did his laws. They were not our ways. We kept the laws we made and lived our religion. We have never been able to understand the white man, who fools nobody but himself.

Mr. Linderman has been unusually successful in showing how Plenty Coups himself regards his long and eventful life. The Great God was too far away to be approached, but there were all sorts of playful demigods and spiritual forces surrounding one in the days of the buffalo herds. It was not personal merit that brought success on the warpath or wisdom at the council fire: these things came when one had a strong medicine—the favor of the rulers of the universe.

Before he went on his first war-trail, Plenty Coups retired to the mountains and fasted, and there he had a prophetic dream which was verified by the history that it helped to make. In his vision he saw the vast herds which had supplied all the needs of his ancestors give place to the Speckled Buffalo of the white man, and this told him that it was the part of wisdom to aid the race which was to possess his soil. Incidentally, this policy followed the lines of least resistance, since the Crows were almost in a state of siege from the better armed enemies of the white man, the Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes and Blackfeet. In recent years the aged chief has done much to help his people adjust themselves to entirely new modes of life, though he regrets the free old days. His final message is:

> Nobody now understands what our Wise Men knew before the white men came to change this world. Our children learn nothing from us and watching the whites have no religion. I hope, if they cannot find and hold firmly to our old beliefs, that they will learn the religion the white man teaches and cling fast to it, because all men must have religion if they would live.

JOE GOULD.

Papini

Life and Myself, by Giovanni Papini. New York: Brentano's. 241 pages. $3.

Saint Augustine, by Giovanni Papini. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 336 pages. $3.50.

PEOPLE in a given period have the thinkers, just as they have the governments, they deserve. When a large section of the American reading public goes in for a philosopher like Count Keyserling, and another still larger, for an historian as turgid as Herr Ludwig, it is not surprising that a third (or is it always the same?) should delight in the profound works of Papini. Otherwise, such books as "Life and Myself" would never be translated. At least they have this advantage over the works of the writers mentioned above, that they convey to the reader the feeling that he is deriving considerable heavy culture, without the mental anguish inseparable from perusing "The Travel Diary of a Philosopher" or "The Life of Napoleon." One can verify this statement by reading the first paragraph of "Life and Myself":

> Man of letters, whoever you may be, I should like at this moment to have you here face to face, to look into your eyes and take your hand in mine and to ask you softly: Do you believe that you are living? Living *truly, deeply, entirely?* Does this present life of yours seem to you as fair and as inspired as you dreamt it in the burning nights of your youth?

And so on. The book continues in this rapturous and original tone, which seems designed to be accompanied by mandolins warbling the "Lucia Sextette," or something equally novel. Certainly, Papini's interrogation seems pertinent on the face of it; one could only wish it framed in a prosody a little less luscious. Is it the fault of the translation, which abounds in such weird Lardneresque locutions as, "You would, like *they,* inflame a people and intoxicate a nation with dreams"? Or perhaps American men of letters, to say nothing of ladies of that ilk, like to be taken by the hand, reminded of their burning youth and softly asked, "Are you really living?" It may be so, it may be so.

Naturally the reader has a right to ask whether the whole book is made up of what might be called grand commonplaces like the opening aria. Very nearly. It completely lacks unity, either of thought or of mood, or of art. There is a chapter called "Quicker," on the virtue of speed, written in a slightly futuristic vein. Throughout the whole book, Signor Papini leaps with the most acrobatic rapidity from the redolent atmosphere of a Los Angeles yogi's office to that of Hoffmannesque reveries which suggest a bad stage-set for "Faust," dropping sometimes into tired little hackneyed articles for a magazine of "thinkers."

In his life of St. Augustine, he is on much more favorable ground, since he is constrained to a certain unity and objectivity, and since he has a rather pretty

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talent for depicting exotic or splendid landscapes like Palestine under the Romans or North Africa in the fourth century, A. D. Moreover, in his biography of the African Church Father, Signor Papini had from his standpoint a *beau sujet*. Converts are usually interesting, especially if they happen to live in colorful settings or have led brilliantly bad lives before making the great refusal. Papini was bound to be drawn to a man who could see nothing in the gorgeous sundown of the Roman Empire but the dark shadow and *spes unica* of the Cross. Finally, we should suppose that Augustine, perhaps like Papini himself, was far more interesting as a man than as a thinker. His "Confessions" and "The City of God" are both works which everyone seems to mention with bated admiration without, apparently, having ever read them. The author of this review has gone so far as to read the former, and found it almost as tediously operatic as Papini at his worst. A good way to judge Augustine, without much pain, indeed with some esthetic pleasure, is to borrow a Roman Catholic breviary with an English translation, and go to the service of Tenebrae on Good Friday. There the authorities have arranged that one or two passages on the Atonement by the great Father be chanted, immediately after those of Holy Scripture. One can assure the reader that never was a great subject treated in a spirit of more childish banality, not even in the pages of "Life and Myself."

CUTHBERT WRIGHT.

An East Side Epic

An East Side Epic, the Life and Work of Meyer London, by Harry Rogoff. New York: The Vanguard Press. 311 pages. $7.50.

AN EAST SIDE EPIC" is the kind of biography that is commonly ordered by the heirs or family of the petty great after their deaths, or by the self-enchanted rich during their own lifetimes. Meyer London was a confused Liberal Socialist, who, because of his goodness of heart, his generosity and his energy became the first Socialist congressman. While in Congress, he opposed the War until the United States actually entered it, and proposed a number of reform measures. He was, we are informed, greatly respected by his fellow statesmen, though both a Jew and Socialist. Those interested in a very full account of his activities may find it in the present book.

MELVIN P. LEVY.

Christine and Other Stories, by Julian Green. New York: Harper and Brothers. $2.50.

OVER THE characters described by Julian Green, death always hovers. They are, for the most part, only partially unfolded, intentionally elliptical, and they move through situations which have about them something of the bad dream. "Leviathan," the first of the stories which compose the present volume, deals with the one passenger on board a freighter. An unhappy man, perhaps a fugitive from justice, he uses his reticence as an electrified barbed-wire fence to keep outsiders at bay. It has no effect, however, upon the captain, intent upon relieving the boredom of a long sea voyage and determined to get a story out of his man. The passenger finally yields: his barrier of reticence is pierced, battered down. He talks, and then —although the reader cannot be sure whether the two things have any connection—he shoots himself just as the "Bonne Espérance" comes in sight of New York harbor. The same enigmatic sort of understatement is used in "Christine," where the heroine is a little girl, a fragile hint of loveliness. She appears but twice in the story, at the end of which her death is implied. That is, her aunt is seen from a parlor window as she throws herself, sobbing, into the arms of a friend. On her ungloved hand is visible a small sapphire which Christine had worn before. . . . Possibly the best of these stories is "The Keys of Death," a thin, Proustian novelette of childhood habit and domestic relations. Here the prose picks up to a certain extent: it is less denuded of texture and tone than in the stories which went before. In most of them the scaffolding, though not particularly intricate, is clever; that is about all. Mr. Green is an ingenious and intelligent writer, but not important enough to justify the fuss made over him.

E. D.

The Shutter of Snow, by Emily Holmes Coleman. New York: The Viking Press. 245 pages. $2.50.

AS AN interlude in a long novel, with something to catch onto, before and after, "The Shutter of Snow" could have been excellent. As it stands now, it is more than the case history of a woman in an insane asylum, but less than a novel about a woman who spends two months of her life in an insane asylum. The book is neither hay nor grass. Yet it does not represent a complete waste of Mrs. Coleman's talent. Aside from the fact that the author has handled original material with objectivity and delicacy, she has made the most of an opportunity to exceed the dry, drab bounds of a flatly realistic style. The style of the book is one the late Frances Newman tried, but could not keep from rank growth; it is the one that Thomas Beer uses, within its proper limits and with considerable more success than Mrs. Coleman. But any writer who can bring off such a sentence as, "She lay and was the instrument and poured from her still throat a single needle-pointed cenotaph," has a talent that should be put to better use than telling her own, however bizarre, experiences.

K. W.

Contributors

FRANCESCO NITTI, former Premier of Italy and an eminent economist, is now living in Paris.

BRUCE GOULD, whose book, "Skylarking," a story of flying, was published last spring, is aviation editor of The New York Evening Post.

HELEN H. MOORHEAD, a graduate of Bryn Mawr, has for eight years been the secretary of the Opium Research Committee of the Foreign Policy Association.

WITTER BYNNER, poet and playwright, has published several volumes. His latest work is "The Jade Mountain," a translation of poems from the Chinese.

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE, a distinguished Indian journalist, is the editor of The Modern Review.

KENNETH WHITE contributes a quarterly motion-picture chronicle to The Hound and Horn.

JOSEPH FERDINAND GOULD, historian and poet, lived for some little time on an Indian reservation, where he carried on anthropological investigations. At present he is at work on a history of the contemporary world.

CUTHBERT WRIGHT is the author of "Story of the Catholic Church." He has lately returned from France.

MELVIN P. LEVY is the author of "Matrix" and "Wedding."

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